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By Sir WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.

THIRD IMPRESSION

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PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

FROM the date of its first publication, Sir William Smith's "Smaller History of Greece" has met with remarkable and continued success. The lapse of over thirty years has, however, inevitably rendered many parts of it antiquated, and the present revision was undertaken with the view of introducing corrections of which the truth seems to have been established by modern research, and at the same time of making other changes on the side of simplicity and clearness. Accordingly the book has been revised throughout, and in some chapters to a great extent rewritten. The original edition of this book was an abridgment which the late Sir W. Smith made of his "Student's Greece." The "Student's Greece" itself was based upon the history of Grote. The larger complete histories by modern writers which have been chiefly consulted are those by Curtius, Holm, Abbott, and Oman. The illustrations and maps in this edition are, with two exceptions, newly drawn. For advice and help in the map of Syracuse the editor is under obligations to Mr. Haverfield; for guidance in preparing the map of Marathon to the essays of Mr. Macan, and in preparing those of Plataea and Pylos to Mr. Grundy, to whom special thanks are due for permission to read the essay on Pylos and Sphacteria, at that time unpublished, and to make use of the map.

G. E. MARINDIN.

BROOMFIELDS, 1896.

PREFACE TO THE EARLIER EDITION.

THE present History has been drawn up chiefly for the lower forms in schools, at the request of several teachers who require for their pupils a more elementary book than the Author's larger History of Greece. It is accompanied by similar Histories of Rome and England.

The Table of Contents presents a full analysis of the work, and has been so arranged that the teacher can frame from it questions for the examination of his class, the answers to which will be found in the corresponding pages of the volume.

W. SMITH.

LONDON, *March*, 1861.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

GREECE, properly so-called, is the southern portion of the great peninsula of Europe, washed on three sides by the Mediterranean Sea, which is now generally known as the Balkan peninsula. That part which was called Greece, or Hellas, is bounded on the north by the Cambunian mountains, which separate it from Macedonia. It extends from the fortieth degree of latitude to the thirty-sixth, its greatest length being not more than two hundred and fifty English miles, and its greatest breadth only one hundred and eighty. Its surface is considerably less than that of Portugal; yet so deeply is the land indented by arms of the sea, that Greece has as many miles of coast as Spain and Portugal together, and no place, even in Thessaly or Arcadia, is more than forty miles from the sea. This small area was divided among a number of independent states, many of them containing a territory of only a few square miles, and none of them larger than an English county. But the heroism and genius of the Greeks have given an interest to the little spot of earth bearing their name which the greatest empires have never exceeded. Though, however, the name of Greece has been given specially to this land, and in geography is limited to it, yet it must not be forgotten that in history the Greeks (or, as they called themselves, the Hellēnes) occupied a much wider area, including not only the islands of the Aegean and the west coast of Asia Minor, but also much of the south of

Limits.

Italy, of the coasts of Sicily, and some of the northern coast of Africa.

While the coast of Greece is remarkable for the number of its bays and inlets, the interior is not less so for its mountains, which leave no plains of any size except those of Boeotia and Thessaly. The rivers of Greece have the character of torrents, not one being navigable even for small craft; with the exception of the Achelōus, the Penēus, and the Alphēus, none of them have any considerable volume of water in the summer, and many are dried up altogether at that season.

Mountains and rivers.

The two northerly provinces of Greece are *Thessaly* and *Epīrus*, separated from each other by Mount Pindus. Thessaly is a fertile plain enclosed by lofty mountains, and drained by the river Peneus, which finds its way into the sea through the celebrated Vale of Tempé. Epirus, which, however, was not regarded as one of the true Hellenic countries, is covered by rugged ranges of mountains running from north to south, through which the Achelous, the largest river of Greece, flows towards the Corinthian gulf, with a course of one hundred miles.

Northern Greece.

In entering central Greece from Thessaly the road runs along the coast through the narrow pass of Thermopylae, between the sea and a lofty range of mountains. The district along the coast was inhabited by the *eastern Locrians;* to their west were *Doris* and *Phocis*, the greater part of the latter being occupied by Mount Parnassus, the fabled abode of the Muses, upon the slopes of which lay the town of Delphi, with its oracle of Apollo. South of Phocis is *Boeotia*, which is a large hollow basin, enclosed on every side by mountains, which prevent the waters from flowing into the sea. Hence the atmosphere was damp and thick, to which circumstance the Athenians attributed the dulness of the inhabitants. Thebes was the chief city of Boeotia. South of Boeotia lies *Attica*, which is in the form of a triangle, having two of its sides washed by the sea and its base united to the land. Its soil is light and dry and is better adapted for the growth of fruit than of corn. It was particularly celebrated for its olives. Athens was on the western side, between four and five miles from its chief port, Peiraeus. West of Attica, towards the

Central Greece.

isthmus, is the small district of *Megăris*. The western half of central Greece consists of *Western Locris*, *Aetolia*, and *Acarnania*. These districts were less civilized than the other countries of Greece, and were the haunts of robber tribes even as late as the Peloponnesian war.

Central Greece is connected with the southern peninsula by a narrow isthmus, on which stood the City of Corinth. So narrow is this isthmus, that the ancients regarded the peninsula as an island, and gave to it the name of *Peloponnesus*, or the island of Pelops, from the mythical hero of this name. The mountains of Peloponnesus have their roots in the centre of the country, from which they branch out towards the sea. This central region, called *Arcadia*, is the Switzerland of the peninsula. It is surrounded by a ring of mountains, forming a kind of natural wall, which separates it from the remaining Peloponnesian states. The other chief divisions of Peloponnesus were Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis. *Achaia* is a narrow slip of country lying between the northern barrier of Arcadia and the Corinthian gulf. *Argolis*, on the east, contained several independent states, of which the most important was Argos. *Laconia* and *Messenia* occupied the whole of the south of the peninsula from sea to sea: these two countries were separated by the lofty range of Taygĕtus, running from north to south, and terminating in the promontory of Taenărum (now Cape Matapan), the southernmost point of Greece and Europe. Sparta, the chief town of Laconia, stood in the valley of the Eurōtas, which opens out into a plain of considerable extent towards the Laconian gulf. Messenia, in like manner, was drained by the Pamīsus, whose plain is still more extensive and fertile than that of the Eurotas. *Elis*, on the west of Arcadia, contains the memorable plain of Olympia, through which the Alpheus flows, and in which the city of Pisa stood.

Peloponnesus.

Of the numerous islands which line the Grecian shores the most important was Euboea, stretching along the coasts of Boeotia and Attica. South of Euboea was the group of islands called the *Cyclădes*, lying around Delos as a centre; and east of these were the *Sporădes*, near the Asiatic coast. South of these groups are the large islands of *Crete* and *Rhodes*.

Islands.

The physical features of the country, a land of mountains and sea, exercised an important influence upon the political destinies of the people. The surface of Greece is occupied by a number of small plains, either entirely surrounded by limestone ranges or open only to the sea. Each of the principal Greek cities was founded in one of these small plains; and, as the mountains which divided it from its neighbours were lofty and rugged, each city grew up in solitary independence, forming, with its small adjacent territory, a separate state. But at the same time it had ready and easy access to the sea, and Arcadia was almost the only political division that did not possess some territory upon the coast. Thus shut out from their neighbours by mountains, the Greeks were naturally attracted to the sea, and became a maritime people. But it is a noticeable feature of the seaboard of Greece that the western side has a comparatively inhospitable coast with few good harbours, such as are found in abundance on the eastern, or Aegean, side. Hence the first and most natural tendency was to have commerce with the islands and the coast of Asia Minor.

General effect of the geography of the country on its history.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE GREEKS AND THEIR LEGENDARY HISTORY.

No nation possesses a trustworthy history till events are recorded in some form of writing. In Greece there is no direct evidence of written records earlier than the seventh century B.C.; and it is on the whole probable that writing was not employed at all before 800 B.C., and was not widely used before the sixth century. It may be said, therefore, that at the epoch known by the name of the First Olympiad, corresponding to the year 776 B.C., we are passing out of the purely mythical period, when everything is vague and uncertain, based only on what poets and artists had derived from popular tradition; that the succeeding century gives us surer ground; and that somewhat before 500 B.C. the really historical period is reached.

Beginning of Greek history.

About the earlier times each tribe or district of Greece had legends which professed to give an account of the origin and former history of the people. Some of these stories were widely spread, with more or less variation, throughout Greece; others were peculiar to special places. It is well to pay some attention to such traditions, first, because they probably contain some elements of truth, and are an indication of what may really have happened in ages long before written documents existed; and, secondly, because they supplied the themes upon which great poets and artists most often dwelt.

Value of legends.

Who were the Greeks, or, as they called themselves, the Hellenes? * Their own traditions do not help us much. They

* When the names *Hellas* and *Hellenes* first belonged to the nation as a whole is not known. In earlier times they were apparently spoken of variously, as "Danaans," "Achaeans," and "Ionians." The Italian tribes gave them the name of "Greeks," because the *Graeci* (Γραικοί) were a tribe on the western

tell us that they descended from a common ancestor, Hellen; that Hellen had three sons—Dorus (ancestor of the Dorians), Xuthus, and Aeŏlus (ancestor of the Aeolians); and that Xuthus had two sons—Ion and Achaeus, ancestors of the Ionians and Achaeans. It is clear that these persons were only invented to explain the national names. More can be gathered from the language itself, which shows that the Greeks were a branch of that Aryan stock called "Indo-European," which at very early times, in different detachments, came from the East and spread over Europe. The Celts and Germans, as well as the Greeks and some of the Italian races, all belonged to this stock; but the language of the Greeks is very nearly akin to that of the Italian races—Latin, Umbrians, and Oscans—while it differs widely from the language of the Celts and Germans. Hence, it appears that the Celts and Germans split off first from the common stock, and afterwards came the separation between the Greek and Italian races. The Greeks seem to have reached their country from Asia Minor, not all at the same time, nor by the same route, but some by land from the north-east, and some more directly by sea, from island to island across the Aegean.

Origin of the Greek nation.

What races had lived in Greece before the Greeks came there we do not know. The Greek historians described as "Pelasgi" the people who lived in prehistoric times in Greece and on the Aegean coasts. It seems likely that the so-called Pelasgians were not a separate race, but were some of them earlier Greek settlers whose dialect differed a good deal from that of the later Greeks, and some of them alien races.*

What manner of men the first Greek settlers were can be guessed by observing certain words which were the same in Greek and in Latin; for it may be assumed that these words expressed habits of life which already existed at the time when the Greeks separated from the Italian races. It is therefore likely, as many writers now believe, that the Greeks, when they

coast of Greece, and therefore near to Italy. The name Hellas seems first (in the Iliad) to have belonged to the district near Phthia. It has recently been suggested with much probability that the people of this district migrated southwards with the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and that in the Odyssey "Hellas" means the Achaean land in the north of the Peloponnesus, whence in course of time it spread, so as to include all Greece.

* We have no certain knowledge of Pelasgian settlements, except in Epirus, Thessaly, and the north-west of Asia Minor.

first settled in Greece, had some acquaintance with ships, knew how to use the plough, and had sheep and cattle. That is to say, they must have been at first a wandering people, who knew something of agriculture and pasturing, living on the crops of corn and millet which they sowed when they settled down, on the produce of their flocks and herds, besides what they may have got by hunting and fishing. They provided themselves too with honey and wax, and they used the wool of their flocks, at any rate, for felt caps. How much more than this they had at first, and whether greater civilization came fast or slowly it is impossible to say.

Traditions of foreign settlers.

Among the traditions which the inhabitants of various towns preserved about their origin, the most important are those which represented the founders of certain powerful states to have been princes from foreign lands. Thebes was said to have been founded by the Phoenician Cadmus, who wandered in search of his sister Europa, till the oracle bade him follow a white cow, and build a city where she lay down. He built a city in Boeotia called Cadmēa, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes. Cadmus, too, was said to have taught the Greeks the use of the alphabet, and to have been the first to work the mines of Pangaeus in Thrace, to which he had come in his wanderings.

Thebes.

Argos.

Argos, according to the legend, was ruled by Inăchus, the father of Io; but Io was driven away to Egypt, from which country her grandson Danăus came back as the founder of a new dynasty at Argos.

Mycenae and Tiryns.

Pelops, according to the prevalent tradition, was the son of Tantălus, a Phrygian or Lydian prince. He crossed to Greece and took possession of Pisa, and his son Atreus became king of all the country about Argos, Mycēnae and Tiryns, making Mycenae his capital.

Phoenicians in Greece.

It seems likely that there is, at any rate, this amount of truth in the legends—that the early settlers in Greece got some of their art and civilization from the Phoenicians, and some also from Egypt, either directly or through Phoenicia and Asia Minor. The Phoenicians were the earliest people who showed energy in maritime trade. They established factories at various places on the coasts of the Aegian, where they got purple dye from the shell-fish, and

traded with the neighbouring Greeks, and they worked mines in the north of the Aegean. It may well be true that some Phoenicians built a fort at Thebes, and used there their alphabet, from which the Greeks afterwards formed their own. How early their connexion with Egypt was, and how much of Greek art and religion was borrowed from the Egyptians is uncertain, but there is reason to believe that the Greeks had dealings with Egypt as early as the thirteenth century before Christ. Besides this, it seems that much of the Phoenician art was derived from Egypt, and was imparted to the early Greeks by the Phoenicians. The stories of the labours of Heracles point to the same facts. For Heracles was the same as the Phoenician god Melcart, and the Greeks may have been led by Phoenician settlers to undertake works of draining and the making of roads and the destruction of wild beasts, which they ascribed to Heracles when they changed the Phoenician god into their national hero.

Legend of the Argonauts.

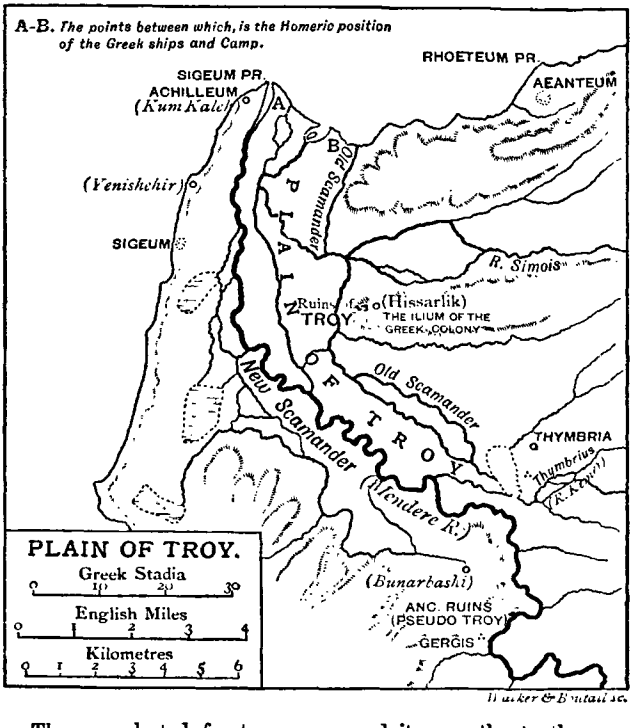
The beginning of Greek maritime adventure seems to have given rise to the legend about the voyage of the *Argo*, and of the many stories of heroes which belonged to the Pagasean Gulf in Thessaly.

The Argonauts embarked in the harbour of Iolcus in Thessaly to sail after the golden fleece, which was guarded by a dragon at Aea in Colchis, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. Among the crew were Heracles and Theseus; but Jason is the central figure and the real hero of the enterprise. When they reached Aea, King Aeētes promised to give Jason the golden fleece if he yoked two fire-breathing oxen with brazen feet and wrought other wonderful deeds. Medēa, the daughter of Aeētes, who was skilled in magic, furnished Jason with the means of accomplishing his tasks; and as her father still withheld the fleece, she stole it by night, having cast the dragon into a magic sleep, and sailed away in the *Argo* with Jason.

The Trojan War.

The Trojan war was still more famous among the deeds of the Greek legendary heroes. Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, abused the hospitality of Menelaus, king of Sparta, by carrying off his wife Helen, the most beautiful of women. All the Greek princes who had been suitors of Helen, and had sworn to guard her from wrong, assembled in arms to avenge the insult, and sailed from Aulis in Boeotia, with 1200 ships across the Aegean. Agamemnon, king

of Mycenae, the brother of Menelaus, was the leader of the Greeks; but Achilles, chief of the Thessalian Myrmidons, was the most valiant warrior, and Odysseus, king of Ithăca, the wisest and most eloquent. Hector was the champion of the Trojans; and the gods took part, some with the Greeks, some with the Trojans.



The war lasted for ten years, and it was the tenth year which forms the subject of the Iliad. Achilles, offended by Agamemnon, sat idle in his tent; and in his absence the Greeks were no match for Hector. The Trojans drove them back into their camp, and were already setting fire to their

ships, when Achilles gave his armour to his friend Patroclus, and put him at the head of the Myrmidons. Patroclus drove back the Trojans from the ships, but was slain by Hector. This, at last, brought Achilles out to battle. The Trojans fled before him; and, to avenge his friend's death, he slew Hector in single combat.

The Iliad closes with the burial of Hector. The death of Achilles and the capture of Troy were told in later poems. Achilles himself was slain by an arrow shot by the cowardly Paris, but directed by the hand of Apollo. Odysseus now steps into the foreground and becomes the real conqueror of Troy. By his advice a wooden horse was built, in which he and other heroes were concealed. The infatuated Trojans drew the horse within their walls. In the dead of the night the Greeks rushed out and opened the gates to their comrades: Troy was sacked and burnt. Agamemnon reached Mycenae to be murdered by his wife and her paramour: Menelaus wandered for seven years; but of these stories the most famous is told in the Odyssey, which relates the ten years' wanderings of Odysseus, his return to Ithaca, and how he made himself known to his son Telemachus and to his wife Penelope, and how he slew the suitors who had been devouring his substance.

It is unreasonable to say that the whole of this story is a myth or an invention of poets. At least there was a city of Troy, and it was besieged. It has been proved by various explorations within the last twenty-four years that several cities or settlements have stood and have been destroyed at different dates on the site of Troy. It appears that the sixth of these must have had a citadel of considerable size and strength, and the remains of pottery found in it are said to belong to the period of Mycenae. It is possible that this city may have been taken and destroyed by some expedition of Greeks migrating to Asia, in what is called the "Achaean" period, and that this siege and capture formed the real groundwork of the legends and poems which have made it famous. But the Iliad and Odyssey are important in *history*, not because it is possible that a Trojan war really took place, but because they give us a picture of the way in which Greeks lived and were governed, and fought battles at the time when the poems themselves, or the greater part of them, were written; that is,

at a time which was still the "Heroic age," probably some centuries before the date at which trustworthy history of events can be said to begin.

In the Heroic age Greece was already divided into a number of independent states, each governed by its own hereditary king, who acted as judge, as priest to offer sacrifice for his people, and as leader in war. As judge he sat in the market-place, as Eastern kings sat "in the gate," to decide suits of all who came to him, not by a legal code, but by acknowledged principles of fair dealing. The power of the king was not limited by any laws; for the exercise of it he was responsible only to Zeus, from whom it came to him; but his authority was practically limited by the *Boulé*, or council of chiefs, and the *Agŏra*, or general assembly of freemen.

Manners and customs of the Heroic Age.

The Greeks in the Heroic age were divided into three classes —nobles, common freemen, and slaves. The nobles were, next to the king, the chief owners of land; they were distinguished by their warlike prowess, their large estates, and their numerous slaves. The general mass of freemen owned small portions of land, which they cultivated themselves; but there was another class of poor freemen, called Thētes, who had no land of their own, and who worked for hire on the estates of others. Slavery was not so prevalent in the Heroic age as at a later time, nor so harsh. The nobles alone possessed slaves, captured in war or bought from pirates, and they treated them with a degree of kindness which made them faithful and attached dependents.

Society was marked by simplicity of manners. The kings and nobles did not consider it beneath their dignity to acquire the skill of an artisan. Odysseus is represented as building his own bed-chamber and constructing his own raft, and he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman. The chiefs prepared their own meals, and prided themselves on their skill in cookery. Kings and private persons partook of the same food, which was of the simplest kind. Beef, mutton, and goat's flesh were the ordinary meats, with cheese and bread, and sometimes fruits also formed part of the meal; wine was drunk, but not apparently to excess. The enjoyment of the feast was heightened by song accompanied by the lyre. The

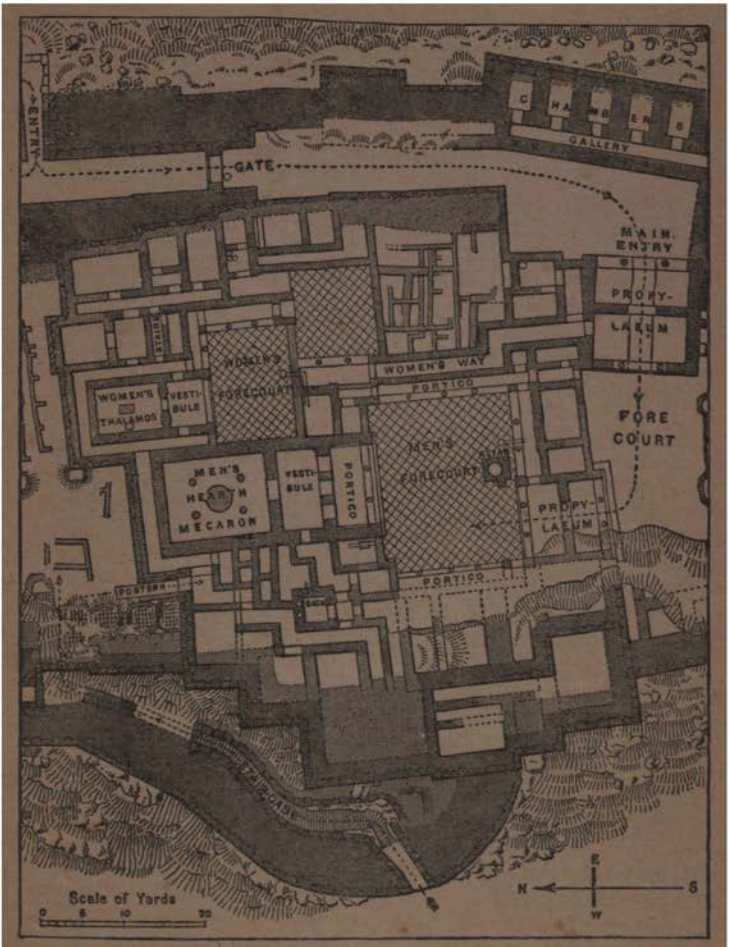
annexed plan of the Palace of Tiryns will give an example of the Homeric palace. It has been laid bare by the excavations of the last twenty years, enough remaining to show clearly the ground-plan of its rooms and courts and entrances, and the strength of its fortifications. Of course this was the palace-fortress of a powerful prince, larger and more elaborate than most, perhaps than any, other Greek palaces of that period.

The wives and daughters of the chiefs, in like manner, did not think it beneath them to do work, which was afterwards considered menial. Not only do we find them employed in weaving, spinning, and embroidery, but, like the daughters of the patriarchs, they fetch water from the well and help to wash their slaves' garments by the river-side.

On the other hand, it is likely enough that the condition of the poorer classes was a somewhat depressed and joyless one. Our accounts of Homeric life come from minstrels who sang in the homes of princes and nobles, and the condition of the poor throughout the Heroic age may have been much as Hesiod describes it in his own time and country. With a strong and just king they had protection; but might often made right, and they lived in the midst of wars. Pirates were under no restraint, and piracy was not regarded as a discredit any more than cattle-lifting in old times on the Scotch border.

In the Homeric battles, the chiefs are the only important combatants: they are mounted in a war chariot, and stand by the side of their charioteers. The people are an almost useless mass, frequently put to rout by the prowess of a single hero.

The commerce of the day was chiefly in the hands of the Phoenicians, and the most costly articles, especially of wrought metals, are described as coming from Phoenicia. The early Greek towns, for the sake of safety from pirates, were generally built a little way from the sea, where a hill or rock would afford a strong site for the citadel, if not for the whole town. The massive walls and gate of Mycenae which still remain, give some idea of these fortified towns of the "Achaean" period. It was built on a hill which commanded the trade routes both to the Corinthian Gulf and to the Gulf of Argolis, and became the chief city of the Pelopidae, outstripping in wealth the older Tiryns.



Plan of the Palace at Tiryns.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE GREEK PEOPLE—NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE Greeks, as we have already seen, were divided into many independent communities, but several causes bound them together as one people. Of these the most important were community of blood and language, community of religious rites and festivals, and community of manners and character.

Bonds of union in the Greek nation.

All the Greeks were descended from the same stock and spoke the same language. They all described men and cities which were not Greeks by the term *Barbarian*. This word has passed into our own language, but with a very different idea; for the Greeks applied it indiscriminately to every foreigner, to the civilized inhabitants of Egypt and Persia, as well as to the rude tribes of Scythia and Gaul.

The second bond of union was a community of religious rites and festivals. Religious meetings common to the whole nation were of gradual growth, being formed by a number of neighbouring towns, which entered into an association for the periodical celebration of certain religious rites. Of these the most important in its constitution was the Amphictyonic Council. It acquired its superiority over other similar associations by the wealth and grandeur of the Delphian temple, of which it was the appointed guardian. It held two meetings every year, one in the spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the other in the autumn at the temple of Demētēr at Thermopylae. Its members, who were called the Amphictyons, consisted of sacred deputies sent from twelve tribes, each of which contained several independent cities or states. But the Council was never considered as a national congress, whose duty it was to protect and defend the

Amphictyonic Council.

common interests of Greece; and it was only when the rights of the Delphian god had been violated that it invoked the aid of the various members of the league.

The Olympic Games were of greater efficacy than the Amphictyonic Council in promoting a spirit of union among the various branches of the Greek race, and in keeping alive a feeling of their common origin. They were open to all persons who could prove their Hellenic blood, and were frequented by spectators from all parts of the Hellenic world. They were celebrated at Olympia, on the banks of the Alphēus, in the territory of Elis. The origin of the festival is lost in obscurity; but it is said to have been revived by Iphītus, king of Elis, and Lycurgus the Spartan legislator, in the year 776 B.C.; and, accordingly, when the Greeks at a later time began to use the Olympic contest as a chronological era, this year was regarded as the first Olympiad. It was celebrated at the end of every four years, and the interval which elapsed between each celebration was called an Olympiad. The whole festival was under the management of the Eleans, who appointed some of their own number to preside as judges, under the name of the Hellanodīcae. During the month in which it was celebrated all hostilities were suspended throughout Greece. At first the festival was confined to a single day, and consisted of nothing more than a match of runners in the stadium; but in course of time so many other contests were introduced, that the games occupied five days. They comprised various trials of strength and skill, such as wrestling, boxing, the Pancratium (boxing and wrestling combined), and the complicated Pentathlum (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling), but no combats with any kind of weapons. There were also horse-races and chariot-races; and the chariot-race, with four full-grown horses, became one of the most famous of all the matches.

National games.

The prize was only a wreath of wild olive; but this was valued as one of the greatest distinctions in life. To have his name proclaimed as victor before assembled Hellas was an object of ambition with the noblest and the wealthiest of the Greeks. Such a person was considered to have conferred glory upon his family and his country, and was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with peculiar honours.

During the sixth century before the Christian era three other national festivals—the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games—which were at first only local, became open to the whole nation. The Pythian games were celebrated in every third Olympic year, on the Cirrhaean plain in Phocis, under the superintendence of the Amphictyons. The games consisted not only of matches in gymnastics and of horse and chariot races, but also of contests in music and poetry. They soon became famous, and were second only to the great Olympic festival. The Nemean and Isthmian games occurred more frequently than the Olympic and Pythian. They were celebrated once in two years—the Nemean in the valley of Nemĕa between Phlius and Cleōnae, and the Isthmian by the Corinthians, on their isthmus, in honour of Poseidon (Neptune). As in the Pythian festival, contests in music and in poetry, as well as gymnastics and chariot-races, formed part of these games. Although the four great festivals of which we have been speaking had no influence in promoting the political union of Greece, they nevertheless were of great importance in making the various sections of the race feel that they were all members of one family, and in cementing them together by common sympathies and the enjoyment of common pleasures.

The Greeks were thus annually, by one or other of the four festivals, reminded of their common origin, and of the great distinction which existed between them and barbarians. Moreover, the concourse of so large a number of persons from every part of the Grecian world not only favoured commerce and traffic, but gave literary men the best means of making their works known. During the time of the games, in a hall appropriated for the purpose, poets, philosophers, and historians recited their most recent works.

Oracles.

The habit of consulting the same oracles in order to ascertain the will of the gods was another bond of union. It was the practice of the Greeks to undertake no matter of importance without first asking the advice of the gods; and there were many sacred spots in which the gods were ready to give an answer to pious worshippers. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi surpassed all the rest in importance, and was regarded with veneration in every part of the Hellenic world. In the centre of the temple of Delphi there was a small opening

in the ground, from which it was said that a certain vapour ascended. Whenever the oracle was to be consulted, a priestess called *Pythia* took her seat upon a tripod which was placed over the chasm. The ascending vapour affected her brain, and the words which she uttered in this excited condition were believed to be the answer of Apollo to his worshippers. They were always in hexameter verse, and were reverently taken down by the attendant priests. Most of the answers were equivocal or obscure; but the credit of the oracle continued unimpaired long after the downfall of Grecian independence.

A further element of union among the Greeks was the similarity of manners and character. It is true the difference in this respect between the polished inhabitants of Athens and the rude mountaineers of Acarnania was marked and striking; but if we compare the two with their foreign contemporaries, the contrast between Greeks and foreigners is still more striking. Absolute despotism, human sacrifices, polygamy, deliberate mutilation of the person as a punishment, and selling of children into slavery, existed in some part or other of the barbarian world, but are not found in any city of Greece in the historical times.

The elements of union of which we have been speaking only bound the Greeks together in common feelings and sentiments: they never produced any political union. The independent sovereignty of each city was a fundamental notion in the Greek mind. This strongly rooted feeling deserves particular notice. Careless readers of history are tempted to suppose that the territory of Greece was divided among a comparatively small number of independent states, such as Arcadia, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, and the like; but this is a most serious mistake, and leads to a total misapprehension of Greek history. Every separate city, with the small district round it, was usually an independent state, and consequently each of the territories described under the general names of Arcadia, Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris contained numerous political communities independent of one another. Attica and Laconia have already been noticed as exceptions, different in kind, from the general rule.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE MIGRATIONS OF GREEK RACES, AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF PELOPONNESUS AND SPARTA, DOWN TO THE END OF THE MESSENIAN WARS, 668 B.C.

Early migrations in Greece.

THE traditions about the movements of tribes or races in Greece, which came at the close of the "Heroic Age" and swept away the Achaean principalities, are in great part legendary, but much also should be accepted as true. The legendary account of the conquest of Peloponnesus ran as follows:—The Dorians were led by the Heraclidae, or descendants of the mighty hero Heracles. Hence this migration is called the Return of the Heraclidae. The children of Heracles had long been fugitives upon the face of the earth. They had made many attempts to regain the dominions in the Peloponnesus, of which Heracles himself had been deprived by Eurystheus, but hitherto without success. In their last expedition Hyllus, the son of Heracles, had perished in single combat with Echĕmus of Tegĕa; and the Heraclidae had become bound by a solemn compact to renounce their enterprise for a hundred years. This period had now expired; and the great-grandsons of Hyllus—Temĕnus, Cresphontes, and Aristodēmus—resolved to make a fresh attempt. The Dorians helped them, because Heracles himself had helped the Dorian king Aegimius against the Lapĭthae. The invaders were warned by an oracle not to enter Peloponnesus by the Isthmus of Corinth, but across the mouth of the Corinthian gulf. Oxўlus, king of the Aetolians, became their guide; and from Naupactus they crossed over to Peloponnesus. A single battle decided the contest. Tisamĕnus, the son of Orestes, was defeated, and retired with a portion of his Achaean subjects to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, then

Legends of the Dorian migration.

occupied by the Ionians. He expelled the Ionians, and took possession of the country, which continued henceforth to be inhabited by the Achaeans, and to be called after them. The Heraclidae and the Dorians now divided between them the dominions of Tisamenus and of the other Achaean princes. The kingdom of Elis was given to Oxylus as a recompense for his services as their guide; and it was agreed that Temenus, Cresphontes, and Eurysthĕnes and Procles, the infant sons of Aristodemus (who had died at Naupactus), should draw lots for Argos, Sparta, Messenia. Argos fell to Temenus, Sparta to Eurysthenes and Procles, and Messenia to Cresphontes.

Such are the main features of the legend of the Return of the Heraclidae. In order to make the story more striking and impressive, it compresses into a single epoch events which probably occupied several generations.

The account of the migrations which is probably in the main true, is that a movement began in Thessaly owing to the invasion of tribes from the north, by which both the Achaeans and the Dorians were displaced. The Achaeans, moving southwards, occupied Boeotia, subduing or driving out the Minyae who inhabited it. The Dorians also moved southwards, and for a time settled in the district of Doris, which continued to bear their name; but afterwards their main body went on across the Corinthian gulf and overran the Peloponnesus. They destroyed the Achaean dynasty, and drove out or reduced to subjection the old inhabitants, except those who dwelt more securely in the mountainous country of Arcadia. The same people caused a mixed horde of emigrants to cross the Aegean. Why they were called Aeolians is not known; they formed that division of the Greek nation which was neither Dorian nor Ionian. According to the tradition they were chiefly Achaean by descent. They consisted of the Magnetes who were driven from Thessaly, of the Minyae who were driven from Boeotia by the Achaeans, and of Achaeans driven from the Peloponnesus by the Dorian invasion. They occupied first Lesbos and then the north-west of Asia Minor. Here they founded thirty cities, among which were Cyme and Magnesia, and the district was called Aeolis. Those of the Achaeans who did not migrate to Aeolis drove out the Ionians

Dorians.

Aeolians.

Ionian migration to Asia.

from the northern strip of the Peloponnesus, called Achaia; and these Ionians, with others from Epidaurus and Troezen, first settled in Attica, whence the larger part of them crossed the Aegean and colonized that part of the coast of Asia Minor which is called Ionia, where ten chief cities were founded, making up, with Chios and Samos, the twelve Ionian states who worshipped at a common temple of Poseidon, on Mount Mycăle. Some of the Dorians also migrated to the islands of Rhodes and Cos, and to the south-west coast of Asia Minor, where Cnidos and Halicarnassus were among their cities.

Growth of Sparta.

Argos was originally the chief Dorian state in Peloponnesus, but at the time of the first Olympiad its power had been supplanted by that of Sparta. The progress of Sparta from the second to the first place among the states in the peninsula was mainly owing to the military discipline and rigorous training of its citizens. The constitution of Sparta was ascribed by the ancients to the legislator Lycurgus, but there were different stories respecting his date, birth, travels, legislation, and death. Some traditions give the date 776 B.C. as the year in which he is said to have assisted Iphĭtus in restoring the Olympic games. He was the son of Eunŏmus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. On the death of his father, his elder brother, Polydectes, succeeded to the crown, but died soon afterwards, leaving his queen with child. The ambitious woman offered to destroy the child if Lycurgus would share the throne with her. Lycurgus pretended to consent; but as soon as she had given birth to a son, he presented him in the market-place as the future king of Sparta. The young king's mother took revenge upon Lycurgus by accusing him of designs against his nephew's life. He left his native country, and was absent many years, occupied in studying the institutions of other nations in order to devise a system of laws which might bring order and prosperity to Sparta. Meanwhile, the young king had grown up; but the disorders of the state had meantime become worse than ever, and the return of Lycurgus was hailed with delight. He now set himself to work to carry his reforms into effect; but before he began his task he consulted the Delphian oracle, from which he received assurances of divine support. Thus encouraged by the god, he

Traditions about Lycurgus.

suddenly presented himself in the market-place, surrounded by thirty of the leading citizens in arms. His reforms were not carried into effect without opposition, and in one of the tumults which they excited, he is said to have lost an eye; but he finally triumphed over all obstacles, and his new constitution was accepted by the Spartans. His last act was to sacrifice himself for the welfare of his country. He persuaded the people to swear that they would make no alterations in his laws before his return, and then quitted Sparta for ever. How and where he died, nobody could tell. He vanished from earth, and his countrymen honoured him with a temple and with annual sacrifices down to the latest times.

Such are the traditions about Lycurgus. Of his real life and of the date at which he lived we can have no certainty. Moreover, it is probable that the laws ascribed to him were not all made by one lawgiver, but were of gradual growth. But it will be useful to describe the constitution of Sparta, whether the work of Lycurgus or not, as it existed in historical times.

Spartan Constitution.

The population of Laconia was divided into three classes—Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots.

I. The *Spartans* were the descendants of the leading Dorian conquerors. They formed the sovereign power of the state, and they alone were eligible to honours and public offices. They lived in Sparta itself, and were all subject to the discipline of Lycurgus. They were divided into three tribes—the *Hylleis*, the *Pamphȳli*, and the *Dymānes*,—which were not, however, peculiar to Sparta, but existed in other Dorian states.

II. The *Perioeci* * were personally free, but politically subject to the Spartans. They possessed no share in the government, and were bound to obey the commands of the Spartan magistrates. They appear to have been the descendants of the old Achaean or Ionian population of the country, and they were distributed into a hundred townships, which were spread through the whole of Laconia. It is said that at first the Dorian conquerors gave them equal privileges, probably because they had not opposed them; but afterwards the rights of citizenship were restricted to pure Dorians.

III. The *Helots* were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled

* This word signifies literally *Dwellers around the city.*

for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors. Their condition was very different from that of the ordinary slaves in antiquity, and more like the villanage of the middle ages. They could not be sold from the land to which they belonged. They lived in the rural villages, as the Perioeci did in the towns, cultivating the lands and paying over the rent to their masters in Sparta, but having their homes, wives, and families, apart from their master's superintendence. They accompanied the Spartans to the field as light-armed troops. They were far more numerous than the Spartans, and as their numbers increased, they became objects of suspicion to their masters, and were treated with great cruelty. A body of young Spartans was sent about Laconia to watch the Helots, and if they saw or imagined any signs of revolt they killed those Helots whom they suspected. This system of police was called the Crypteia. The Helots also were descendants of the conquered Achaeans. Why they received worse treatment than the Perioeci is not quite certain. Either they offered a stronger resistance at first, or, as is very probable, they rose against the Dorians some time after the conquest.

The functions of the Spartan government were distributed among two kings, a senate of thirty members, a popular assembly, and an executive directory of five men called the Ephors.

At the head of the state were the two hereditary kings. This division of the royal power, which naturally weakened its influence, was, in Greece, peculiar to Sparta, and is said in the legends to have arisen from the accident of Aristodemus having left twin sons, Eurysthĕnes and Procles. The kings had the place of honour in all public games and festivals: like the Homeric kings they held also a priestly office; they had the prerogative of declaring war, though in practice they did not do so without the assent of the council or the Ephors; they were leaders of the army in war, one king remaining at home while the other commanded the troops; but in the conduct of war also they were in historical times greatly controlled by the Ephors, who gradually deprived them of nearly all reality of power.

The Senate, called *Gerusia*, or the *Council of Elders*, consisted of thirty members, among whom the two kings were included. They were obliged to be upwards of sixty years of age, and they held their office for life. They were the only real check upon the authority of the Ephors. They discussed

and prepared all measures which were to be brought before the popular assembly, and they had some share in the general administration of the state. But the most important of their functions was, that they were judges in all criminal cases affecting the life of a Spartan citizen.

The Popular Assembly, called *Apella*, was of little importance, and appears to have been usually summoned only as a matter of form for the election of certain magistrates, for passing laws, and for determining upon peace and war. It would appear that open discussion was not allowed, and that the votes were by acclamation.

Whether the five Ephors belonged to the original constitution or not is uncertain. They may be regarded as the representatives of the popular assembly. They were elected annually from the general body of Spartan citizens, and seem to have been originally appointed as "overseers" (which is the meaning of the name), to control the conduct of the people, as censors, and perhaps also to protect their rights against the kings. But in time, when the discords of the kings gave them opportunity, they became the real power in the state, like the Council of Ten at Venice. They gained the right of convening the council, of receiving ambassadors, and practically of determining upon peace and war, a right which had belonged to the kings, but had passed into the hands of the Ephors: in a campaign two Ephors went with the army, but left military arrangements to the king who commanded. They could summon any citizens and even the kings themselves to trial, and, as presidents of the council, had a chief share in determining the sentence.

The Spartan government was in reality a close oligarchy, in which the kings and the senate, as well as the people, were alike subject to the irresponsible authority of the five Ephors.

The most important part of the legislation of Lycurgus did not relate to the political constitution of Sparta, but to the discipline and education of the citizens. It was this discipline which gave Sparta her strength, and distinguished her in so striking a manner from all the other states of Greece. The position of the Spartans, surrounded by numerous enemies, whom they held in subjection by the sword alone, compelled them to be a nation of soldiers. Lycurgus determined that they should be nothing else; and the great object of his whole

system was to cultivate a martial spirit, and to give them a training which would make them invincible in battle. With this object the education of a Spartan was placed under the control of the state from his earliest boyhood. Every child after birth was exhibited to public view, and, if he seemed deformed or weakly, was exposed to perish on Mount Taygĕtus. At the age of seven he was taken from his mother's care, and handed over to the public classes. He was not only taught gymnastic games and military exercises, but he was also subjected to severe bodily discipline, and was expected to suffer pain and to submit to hardships without complaint. One of the tests of his endurance was a cruel scourging at the altar of Artĕmis, until his blood flowed over the altar of the goddess. No means were neglected to prepare them for the hardships and stratagems of war. They were obliged to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold. Their allowance of food was just enough to support life and no more, and it was poor of its kind, but they were encouraged to add to it by hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia, and even by stealing whatever they could; but if they were caught in the theft they were severely punished for their want of dexterity. Plutarch tells us of a boy, who, having stolen a fox, and hid it under his garment, let it remain there and tear out his very bowels rather than betray his theft.

The literary education of a Spartan youth did not extend beyond learning to read and write. He was taught to despise the study of eloquence, and to express himself with the plainest brevity. In choral music and dancing he was carefully trained.

A Spartan was not considered to have reached the full age of manhood till he had completed his thirtieth year. He was then allowed to marry, to take part in the public assembly, and was eligible to the offices of the state. But he still continued under the public discipline, and was not allowed to live at home with his wife. It was not till he had reached his sixtieth year that he was released from the public discipline and from military service. Till he reached that age the city was for him a great standing camp, and he had more luxuries on a campaign than at home.

The public mess, called *Syssitia* or *Pheiditia*, was intended to ensure simplicity of life. Public tables were provided, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. Each table held fifteen persons, who formed a separate mess, into

which no new member was admitted, except by the consent of the whole company. Each sent monthly to the common stock a specified quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. Meat was only eaten occasionally; and one of the principal dishes was black broth. Of what it consisted we do not know. The tyrant Dionysius found it very unpalatable; but, as the cook told him, the broth was nothing without the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

The Spartan women in their earlier years were subjected to a course of training almost as rigorous as that of the men, and contended with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing. At the age of twenty a Spartan woman usually married, and she was no longer subjected to the public discipline. Although she enjoyed little of her husband's society, she was treated by him with respect, and was allowed more liberty than was to be found in other Greek states. Hence she took a lively interest in the welfare and glory of her native land, and was animated by an earnest spirit of patriotism. The Spartan mother had reason to be proud of herself and of her children. When a woman of another country said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, "The Spartan women alone rule the men," she replied, "The Spartan women alone bring forth men." They encouraged their husbands and their sons to deeds of heroism. "Return either with your shield, or upon it," was the advice given by a mother to her son when he went to battle.

Neither gold nor silver money was allowed in Sparta, and nothing but bars of iron passed in exchange for every commodity. As the Spartans did not engage in commerce, and as all luxury and display in dress, furniture, and food was forbidden, iron might be thought sufficient for their few wants. But this did not make the Spartans better able than other nations to despise gold or to resist a bribe.

The legislation of Lycurgus made the Spartans a body of professional soldiers, well trained and well disciplined, at a time when military training and discipline were little known, and almost unpractised in the other states of Greece. Hence came the rapid growth of the Spartan power and the subjugation of the neighbouring states. At first the Spartans held only a small portion of Laconia: they were merely a garrison in the heart of an enemy's country. Their object was to make themselves

masters of Laconia, and in this they finally succeeded after a severe struggle. They next turned their arms against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. Of these wars the two waged against Messenia were the most famous and the most important. They were both long and obstinately contested. They both ended in the victory of Sparta, and in the subjugation of Messenia, but of the details we have no trustworthy narrative.

The first Messenian War is said to have lasted from 743 to 724 B.C. According to the traditional account, during the first four years the Lacedaemonians made little progress; but in the fifth a great but indecisive battle was fought; the Messenians did not venture to risk another engagement, and retired to the strongly fortified mountain of Ithōmé. In their distress they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and received the answer that Messenia could only be saved by sacrificing a maiden of the royal house to the gods of the lower world. Aristodemus, who is the Messenian hero of the first war, slew his own daughter; and the Spartans, believing that this would give victory to the Messenians, made peace for some years. In the thirteenth year of the war the Spartan king marched against Ithome, and a second great battle was fought, but the result was again indecisive. The Messenian king fell in the action; and Aristodemus, who was chosen king in his place, carried on the war. In the fifth year of his reign a third great battle was fought. This time the Messenians gained a decisive victory, and the Lacedaemonians were driven back into their own territory. But portents and oracles showed Aristodemus that his country was doomed, and he slew himself on his daughter's tomb. Shortly afterwards, in the twentieth year of the war, the Messenians abandoned Ithome, which the Lacedaemonians razed to the ground, and the whole country became subject to Sparta. Many of the inhabitants fled into other countries; but those who remained were reduced to the condition of Helots, and were compelled to pay to their masters half the produce of their lands.

First Messenian War.

For thirty-nine years the Messenians endured this yoke. Then they took up arms against their oppressors. The Second Messenian War is said to have lasted from 685 to 668 B.C. Its hero is Aristomĕnes, whose exploits form the chief part of this war. On one occasion, say the legends, the hero crossed

the frontier, entered Sparta by night, and affixed a shield to the temple of Athena with the inscription, "Dedicated by Aristomenes to the goddess from the Spartan spoils." The Spartans in alarm sent to Delphi for advice. The god bade them apply to Athens for a leader. Fearing to disobey the oracle, but not wishing to give real help, the Athenians sent Tyrtaeus, a lame man and a schoolmaster. The Spartans received their new leader with due honour; and he was not long in justifying the credit of the oracle. His martial songs roused their courage; and they went out against the enemy, at first without success; but in the third year of the war a great battle was fought, in which the Messenians suffered a signal defeat. Aristomenes no longer ventured to meet the Spartans in the open field, and retired to the mountain fortress of Eira. The Spartans encamped at the foot of the mountain; but Aristomenes frequently sallied from the fortress, and ravaged the lands of Laconia with fire and sword. Thrice was he taken prisoner; on two occasions he burst his bonds, but on the third he was carried to Sparta, and thrown with his fifty companions into a deep pit, called Caeădas. His comrades were all killed by the fall; but Aristomenes reached the bottom unhurt. He had no means of escape, till on the third day he saw a fox creeping among the bodies: he grasped its tail, and, following the animal as it struggled to escape, discovered an opening in the rock, and on the next day was at Eira, to the surprise alike of friends and foes. One night, however, the Spartans surprised Eira, while Aristomenes was disabled by a wound. He collected the bravest of his followers, and forced his way through the enemy. Many of the Messenians went to Rhegium with the sons of Aristomenes, but the hero himself finished his days in Rhodes.

Second Messenian War.

Though the above details are merely popular legends, there is no doubt that the second Messenian war ended in the complete subjugation of the Messenians, who again became the serfs of their conquerors. In this condition they remained till the restoration of their independence by Epaminondas, in the year 369 B.C. During the whole of the intervening period the country called Messenia in the map was a portion of Laconia, which thus extended across the south of Peloponnesus from the eastern to the western sea.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS, DOWN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY BY CLEISTHENES, 510 B.C.

SPARTA was the only state in Greece which continued to retain the kingly form of government during the brilliant period of Grecian history. In all other parts of Greece royalty had been abolished at an early age, and various forms of republican government established in its stead. The abolition of royalty was first followed by an Oligarchy, or the government of the Few. Democracy, or the government of the Many, was of later growth. It was not from the people that the oligarchies received their first and greatest blow. They were generally overthrown by the usurpers, to whom the Greeks gave the name of *Tyrants.**

Tyrants in Greece.

The rise of the Tyrants seems to have taken place about the same time in a large number of the Greek cities. In most cases they belonged to the nobles, and they generally became masters of the state by espousing the cause of the commonality, and using the strength of the people to put down the oligarchy by force. At first they were popular with the general body of the citizens, who were glad to see the humiliation of their former masters. But discontent soon began to arise; the tyrant had recourse to violence to quell disaffection; and the government became in reality a tyranny in the modern sense of the word. The earliest of these tyrants was at Sicyon, where that form of government began about 665 B.C., and lasted for more than a hundred years. The first of this line of despots was Pythagŏras; and the most famous was Cleisthĕnes, whose reign began about 596. The tyranny at

Sicyon.

* The Greek word "tyrant" does not correspond in meaning to the same word in the English language. It signifies simply an irresponsible ruler, and may, therefore, be more correctly rendered by the term "despot."

Sicyon was not of an oppressive character. At Corinth the tyranny, in a much harsher form, was founded by Cypselus, about 657 B.C. His rule, like that of his more famous son, Periander (625–585 B.C.), was cruel, but both added much to the power and fame of Corinth. The tyranny at Corinth was overthrown by the Spartans in the year after Periander's death. The Spartan government was essentially an oligarchy, and the Spartans were always ready to lend their aid in favour of the government of the Few. Hence they took an active part in the overthrow of the despots, with the intention of restoring the ancient oligarchy. But this often proved impossible. Hence arose a new struggle. The first contest after the abolition of royalty was between oligarchy and the despot, and the next was between oligarchy and democracy.

Corinth.

The history of Athens affords the most striking illustration of the different revolutions of which we have been speaking.

Of the history of Athens and Attica before the age of Solon there is no certain record. From legends it appears that Attica was peopled by various independent bands, who had settled there in the time of the migrations, chiefly of Ionian descent. It would seem also that Attica was divided into twelve districts, each with its town, under twelve kings or chiefs. The most important of these in the legends were Athens and Eleusis. Athens was ruled by the mythical king Cecrops, who was said to have come, like Danaus, from Egypt. The union of these twelve districts under the headship of Athens is ascribed to the national hero, Theseus. Of Theseus we have many traditions—how he destroyed the robbers and the wild beasts, among them the bull of Marathon, by which the land was troubled; how he saved the Athenians from sending their yearly tribute of boys and girls to Crete by slaying the Minotaur who was to devour them; and how he conquered the Amazons. In much of this the story of Theseus is a repetition of the story of Heracles, and the explanation may be somewhat similar. The change of the government of Attica, ascribed to him, was probably a real event. Theseus seems to have been first a local divinity of Attica round whom many legends have gathered; then a national hero who was supposed to have brought about the changes in

Legendary history of Athens.

Attica, by which the twelve separate governments were abolished and Athens made the head of the whole country, now regarded as a single state. For some time this state is said to have been governed by kings. The legends say that Codrus, the last king who reigned at Athens, saved his country when the Dorians invaded it. The oracle had declared that Athens would prevail if her ruler were slain by the enemy. So Codrus disguised himself, went into the Dorian camp, provoked a quarrel, and was killed. The Dorians withdrew from Attica. The Athenians, from respect to the memory of Codrus, abolished the title of king, and gave to Medon, the son and successor of Codrus, the title of Archon, or Ruler. There are further traditions of the Archonship being first limited to ten years, and afterwards divided between nine persons, each called Archon, and elected annually.

Such is the legendary account of the changes of government in Attica and at Athens. It is important to notice, as the result of the union of Attica, that Athens was the only state in Greece except Sparta, which ruled a large territory, including several towns. We usually find each city with a small adjacent territory forming a separate state, or sometimes united in a confederacy with other cities, each of them in like manner separate states. Athens was not quite like Sparta, because there was in Attica no hostile population, as in Laconia, to keep in subjection; and so far she had the advantage over Sparta to start with.

Constitution of Athens before Solon.

It is plain that, after the end of its monarchy the real power passed into the hands of the nobles or great landowners, and the Archon, who is said to have ruled after Codrus was only the chief magistrate. The Athenian nobles were called *Eupatridae*, the two other classes in the state being the *Geomori* or husbandmen, and *Demiurgi* or artisans. This arrangement is ascribed to Theseus. The more important division of the people, down to the time of Solon, was into three hostile factions, the *Pedieis* (men of the plain), or wealthy Eupatridae of the plains; the *Diacrii* (hill-men), or poor inhabitants of the hilly district in the north and east of Attica; and the *Parali* (men of the shore), who were the mercantile dwellers on the coasts. The duties of the government were distributed among the nine archons, in the

following manner:—The first was called *The Archon* by way of pre-eminence, and sometimes the Archon Eponymus, because the year was distinguished by his name. The second archon was called *The Basileus* or *The King*, because he represented the king in his capacity as high-priest of the nation. The third archon bore the title of *The Polemarch* or War Minister and Commander-in-chief, and was, down to the time of Cleisthenes, the commander of the troops. The remaining six had the common title of *Thesmothetae* or Legislators. They sat as judges, except in murder cases, which came before the Areopagus. The council of the Areopagus—so called because it met on the Hill of Ares ("Mars' Hill")—was purely aristocratic. It was composed of all those who had served as archons, and archons before the time of Pericles were chosen only from the Eupatridae or from the wealthy classes. The Areopagus had great power until the reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles. It chose and controlled the archons (and thus the administration of the state), it maintained public discipline with power to bring the disorderly to trial, and it was the highest court of justice.

Archons.

The rule of the nobles caused discontent, and a revolt took place about 630 B.C., when Cylon, himself one of the nobles, tried to lead a popular movement, and to make himself tyrant of Athens. He obtained help from his father-in-law Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, and seized the Acropolis, but he had few supporters among the people, and was blockaded by the forces of the chief archon, Megacles, who belonged to the powerful family of the Alcmaeonidae. Cylon and his brother made their escape, but the remainder of his associates, hard pressed by hunger, took refuge at the altar of Athena. They were induced by Megacles to quit the altar on the promise that their lives should be spared; but when they had left the temple they were put to death, some even at the altar of the Eumenides. The deed was not forgotten. It was supposed to fix the curse of sacrilege on the whole family of the Alcmaeonidae, and the cry that they ought to be expelled was long afterwards raised for political reasons.

Attempt of Cylon, 630 B.C.

Cylon's attempt had failed, but the discontent remained; and the aristocracy agreed to give the Archon Draco power to reform

the laws and constitution. Draco produced the first *written* code of laws at Athens, which became proverbial for its severity.

Draco's legislation, 621 B.C.

It does not, however, follow that he made the laws more severe than they had been when they were unwritten; but they were more widely known. Draco did not only make the laws clear. He also reformed the constitution; he created a council (the Boulé) of 401 members, chosen by lots from all the citizens; and he exacted that certain offices should be held only by persons who had a specified amount of property.*

Draco's reforms had not remedied the distress of the poor, and had displeased the nobles. The more successful reform of the constitution was the work of a greater man. This man was Solon, one of the nobles and a descendant of Codrus. He had travelled through many parts of Greece and Asia, and had formed acquaintance with many of the most eminent men of his time. On his return to his native country he distinguished himself by recovering the island of Salamis, which had revolted to Megara (600 B.C.). Three years afterwards he persuaded the Alcmaeonidae to submit their case to the judgment of three hundred Eupatridae, by whom they were adjudged guilty of sacrilege, and were expelled from Attica. For further security the Athenians, by the advice of the Delphic oracle, invited the Cretan prophet, Epimenides, to visit Athens, and purify their city from guilt by religious ceremonies and sacrifices.

Solon.

The strife, however, between the different factions of Attica still continued, and the poor were in a grievous state. They had borrowed money from the wealthy at exorbitant rates of interest upon the security of their property and their persons. If the principal and interest of the debt were not paid, the creditor had the power of seizing the person as well as the land of his debtor, and of using him as a slave.

To remedy these evils, the ruling oligarchy were obliged to have recourse to Solon; and they therefore chose him Archon in 594 B.C., investing him under that title with unlimited powers to effect any changes he might consider beneficial to the state.

Solon began his reforms by relieving the poorer class of debtors

* These political reforms of Draco are by some writers ascribed to Solon.

from their distress. He cancelled all existing debts, public and private, and for the future prohibited all loans in which the person of the debtor was pledged.* This measure was called the "Seisachtheia," or "shaking off the burdens." He next proceeded to draw up a new constitution and a new code of laws. As a preliminary step he repealed all the laws of Draco, except those relating to murder. He then distributed all the citizens into four classes according to the amount of their property, thus making wealth and not birth the qualification for office. The first class consisted of those whose annual income was equal to 500 medimni † of corn and upwards, and were called *Pentekosio-medimni*. The second class consisted of those whose incomes ranged between 300 and 500 medimni, and were called *Hippeis* or *Knights*, from their being able to furnish a war-horse. The third class consisted of those who received between 200 and 300 medimni, and were called *Zeugītae*, from their being able to keep a yoke of oxen for the plough. The fourth class, called *Thētes*, included all whose property fell short of 200 medimni. Those alone who belonged to the first class were eligible to the archonship and the higher offices of the state. The second and third classes filled inferior posts, and were liable to military service, the former as cavalry, and the latter as heavy-armed infantry. The fourth class were excluded from all public offices, and served in the army only as light-armed troops. Solon, however, allowed them to vote in the Ecclesia, or general assembly of all citizens, where they must have constituted by far the largest number. He gave this assembly the right of electing the archons and the other officers of the state; and he also made the archons accountable to it at the expirations of their year of office. The Boulé he made to consist of 400 members instead of 401, one hundred being elected from each of the four (then existing) tribes. This council had to prepare laws for discussion in the assembly, to receive embassies, and deliberate on foreign policy. With this last exception the council of the Areopagus retained

Solon's reforms: the "Seisachtheia."

* This seems to be the true account, though some Greek writers only say that he reduced the amount of the old debts. The more sweeping measure which has most authority could only be justified by necessity, and would show how desperate the state of the poorer classes must have been.

† The medimnus was one bushel and a half.

its old powers, and was left "as the guardian of the laws and of the state." But it was no longer entirely formed of nobles, since any man of wealth enough for the first class could now become an archon.

Solon laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy by giving the poorer classes a vote in the popular assembly, and by enlarging the power of the assembly itself; but he left the government in the hands of the wealthy. For many years after his time the government continued to be nearer to an oligarchy than to a democracy, but it was exercised with more moderation and justice than formerly, and the poor were protected from oppression.

Solon enacted numerous laws, containing regulations on almost all subjects connected with the public and private life of the citizens. He encouraged trade and manufactures, particularly by altering the coinage so as to agree with the standard used in other important Ionian cities, and induced foreigners to settle in Athens by the promise of protection and privileges. To discourage idleness, it was enacted that a son was not obliged to support his father in old age, if his father had neglected to teach him some trade. It appears that there was a law also that children should be taught gymnastics and "music," which then included poetry and afterwards included literature generally. There was a curious law, for which there is something to be said, against a selfish want of public spirit, that any one who did not take one side or other in a strife of political parties should lose his right of citizenship.

Among other traditions about Solon's later life it is said that, having bound the government and people of Athens by a solemn oath to observe his institutions for at least ten years, he left Athens and travelled in foreign lands. During his absence the old dissensions between the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain broke out afresh with more violence than ever. The first was headed by Lycurgus, the second by Megacles, an Alcmaeonid, and the third by Peisistratus, the cousin of Solon. Of these leaders, Peisistratus was the ablest and the most dangerous. He had espoused the cause of the poorest of the three classes, in order to gain popularity, and to make himself master of Athens. Solon, on his return to Athens, in vain tried to influence him and to warn the people by

Later life of Solon.

his political poems. One day Peisistratus appeared in the market-place in a chariot, bleeding from wounds inflicted by his own hand. He told the people that he had been nearly murdered in trying to defend their rights. He was believed, and a guard of fifty men was granted him. He gradually increased the number of his body-guard, and soon found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and seize the Acropolis (560 B.C.). Megacles and the Alcmaeonidae left the city. Solon alone had the courage to upbraid the people with their cowardice. "You might," said he, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots." He refused to fly; and when his friends asked him on what he relied, "On my old age," was his reply. It is creditable to Peisistratus that he left him unharmed. Solon did not long survive the overthrow of the constitution. He retired to Cyprus, and died two years afterwards at the advanced age of eighty. His ashes are said to have been brought back by his own wish, and scattered round the island of Salamis, which he had won for the Athenian people. At the same time others also retired from Athens; among them Miltiades, who settled himself in the Thracian Chersonese.

Peisistratus, however, did not retain his power for more than five years. The leaders of the factions of the Shore and the Plain combined and drove him into exile. But the Shore and the Plain having quarrelled, Peisistratus was recalled, apparently in 551 B.C., and again became master of Athens. Another revolution drove him again into exile, after six years of power (545 B.C.). He went to Thrace, and remained in exile ten years, gathering means for another attempt. At length, in 535 B.C., with the help of his partisans in the city, he became master of Athens for the third time, and continued in possession of the supreme power till his death. His administration was marked by mildness and equity. He maintained the institutions of Solon, taking care, however, that the highest offices should always be held by some members of his own family. He adorned Athens with many public buildings, and began, on a stupendous scale, the magnificent temple to the Olympian Zeus, which remained unfinished for centuries, and was at length completed by the emperor Hadrian. He was a patron of literature, as well as of the arts. He is said (though on doubtful

evidence) to have been the first person in Greece who collected a library, which he threw open to the public.

Peisistratus died in 527 B.C., thirty-three years after his first usurpation. He was succeeded by his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who governed jointly on the same principles as their father. Hipparchus inherited his father's literary tastes. He invited several distinguished poets, among them Anacreon and Simonides, to his court. The people generally seem to have shown no desire to revolt from the rule of the two brothers. Their fall was brought about by a conspiracy which two friends, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, young men of noble birth, formed against them for private motives of revenge. They intended to kill both the despots at the festival of the Panathenaea, when the citizens were accustomed to appear with lances. With a few associates the two conspirators appeared armed at the appointed time like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers besides. They had planned to kill Hippias first as he was arranging the order of the procession outside the city, but, seeing him speak to one of their associates, they thought that they were betrayed, rushed back into the city with their daggers, hid in the myrtle boughs which they were to have carried in the procession, and killed Hipparchus. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards. Aristogeiton died under torture without revealing the names of his accomplices.

Hippias and Hipparchus.

Hipparchus was assassinated in 514 B.C., the fourteenth year after the death of Peisistratus. From this time the character of the government entirely changed. His brother's murder turned Hippias into a cruel and suspicious tyrant. He put to death numbers of the citizens, and greatly increased the taxes to provide himself with a strong body of mercenaries. The Alcmaeonidae, who had lived in exile ever since the third and final restoration of Peisistratus to Athens, now began to form schemes to expel the tyrant. Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, who was the head of the family, secured the Delphian oracle by presents to the Pythia, or priestess. Henceforth, whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, the answer of the priestess was always the same, "Athens must be liberated." This order was so often repeated, that the Spartans

Rule of Hippias, and end of the tyranny at Athens, 510 B.C.

at last resolved to obey. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeated the Thessalian allies of Hippias; and the tyrant, unable to meet his enemies in the field, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here he might have maintained himself in safety, had not his children been made prisoners as they were being secretly carried out of the country. To recover them, he consented to quit Attica in the space of five days. He sailed to Asia, and took up his residence at Sigēum in the Troad, which his father had wrested from the Mytilenaeans in war. It was about the same time that the Tarquins were expelled from Rome.

The Lacedaemonians quitted Athens soon after Hippias had sailed away, leaving the Athenians to settle their own affairs. Cleisthenes, to whom Athens was mainly indebted for its liberation from the despotism, aspired to be the political leader of the state, but he was opposed by Isagoras, the leader of the party of the nobles. By the Solonian constitution, the whole political power was vested in the hands of the nobles; and Cleisthenes soon found that it was hopeless to contend against his rival under the existing order of things. For this reason he resolved to make the Athenian constitution a democracy.

His reforms were as follows: (1) he abolished the four ancient tribes, and divided the whole people into ten tribes, subdivided into *demes* or districts. By this he intended to get rid of old associations. As fifty were to be elected for the Boulé from each tribe, the number of that council was raised to 500; (2) he re-established election by lot; (3) he so arranged the Heliaea or law courts as to give greater judicial power to all the citizens (the complete arrangement of the law courts in their eventual form was effected afterwards); (4) he established the law of *Ostracism* as a means for getting rid of a violent party leader without civil war. The senate and the ecclesia had first to determine by a special vote whether the safety of the state required such a step to be taken. If they decided in the affirmative, a day was fixed for the voting, and each citizen wrote upon a tile or oyster-shell * the name of the person whom he wished to banish. The votes were then collected, and if it was found that 6000 had been recorded against any one person, he was obliged to withdraw from the city within ten days; if the number of votes did not amount to 6000, nothing was done.

Reforms of Cleisthenes.

* ὄστρακον, whence the name *Ostracism*.

The aristocratical party, enraged at these reforms, called in the assistance of Cleomenes, king of the Lacedaemonians. Athens was menaced by foreign enemies and distracted by party struggles. Cleisthenes was at first compelled to retire from Athens; but the people rose in arms against Cleomenes, expelled the Lacedaemonians, who had taken possession of the city, and recalled Cleisthenes. Thereupon Cleomenes collected a Peloponnesian army in order to establish Isagoras as a tyrant over the Athenians, and at the same time he concerted measures with the Thebans and the Chalcidians of Euboea for a simultaneous attack upon Attica. The Peloponnesian army, commanded by the two kings, Cleomenes and Demarātus, entered Attica, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but when the allies became aware of the object for which they had been summoned, they refused to march further, and protested against the attempt to establish a tyranny at Athens. They were seconded by Demaratus, and Cleomenes found it necessary to abandon the expedition. At a later period (491 B.C.) Cleomenes took revenge upon Demaratus by persuading the Spartans to depose him upon the ground of illegitimacy. The exiled king took refuge at the Persian court.

Attempts of Cleomenes to restore Hippias.

The Athenians, delivered from their most formidable enemy, lost no time in turning their arms against their other foes. Marching into Boeotia, they defeated the Thebans, and then crossed over into Euboea, where they gained a decisive victory over the Chalcidians. In order to secure their dominion in Euboea, and at the same time to provide for their poorer citizens, the Athenians distributed the estates of the wealthy Chalcidian landowners among 4000 of their citizens, who settled in the country under the name of *Cleruchi*.

The successes of Athens excited the jealousy of the Spartans, and they now resolved to make a third attempt to overthrow the Athenian democracy. They invited Hippias to come from Sigeum to Sparta, and they summoned deputies from all their allies to meet at Sparta, in order to determine respecting his restoration. But the proposal was received with universal repugnance; and the Spartans found it necessary to abandon their project. Hippias returned to Sigeum, and afterwards went to the court of Darius

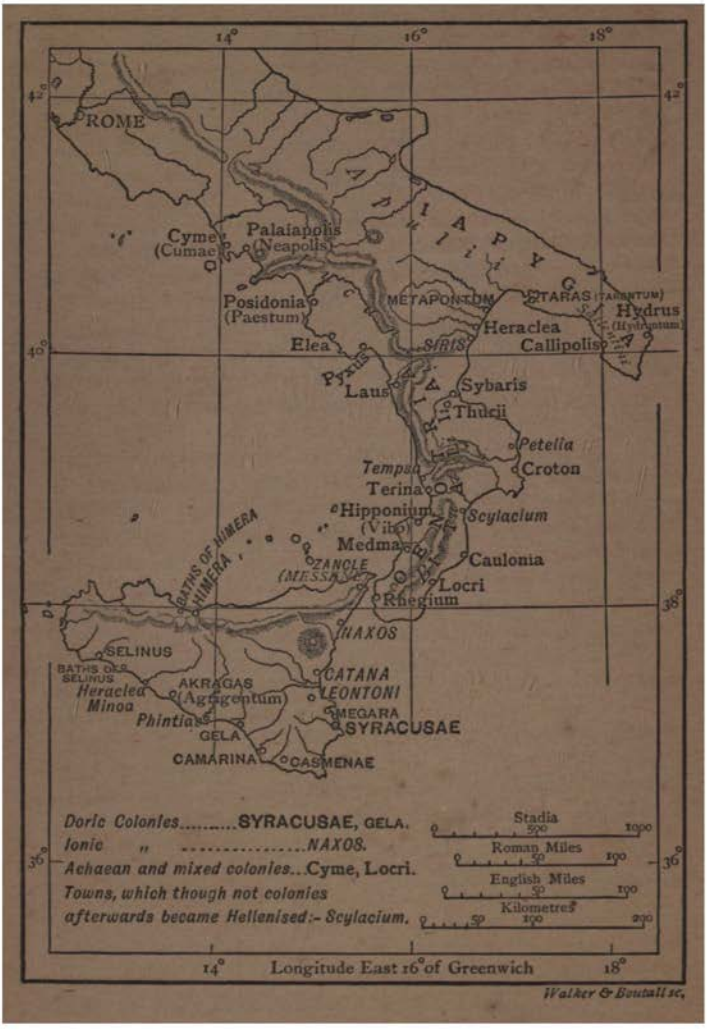
CHAPTER VI.

THE GREEK COLONIES.

THE number of the Greek colonies, their diffusion over all parts of the Mediterranean, which thus became a kind of Grecian lake, and their rapid growth in wealth, power, and intelligence, afford the most striking proofs of the greatness of this wonderful people. Civil strife often led to the emigration of a party among the citizens, but another frequent cause for the foundation of a great colony was the desire which some of the citizens felt for a freer scope when they found themselves thwarted either by an excess of population or by misgovernment. It was thus often the most enterprising and energetic members of the community who left it; often, too, the district to which they went had been suggested by particular opportunities for trading which some of them had seen on their voyages, as was the case, for instance, with the numerous colonies from Ephĕsus, planted in early days on the shores of the Black Sea. The colonies were usually sent forth with the approbation of the cities from which they issued, and under the management of leaders appointed by them. But a Greek colony was always politically independent of the mother-city. The only connexion between them was one of filial affection and of common religious ties. Almost every Greek colonial city was built upon the sea-coast, and the site usually chosen included a hill high enough to form an acropolis.

The Greek colonies may be arranged in four groups: 1. Those founded in Asia Minor and the adjoining islands; 2. Those in the western parts of the Mediterranean, in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain; 3. Those in Africa; 4. Those in Epīrus, Macedonia, and Thrace.

1. The earliest Greek colonies were those founded on the western shores of Asia Minor. They were divided into three


14°
16°
18°
42°
40°
38°
ROME
Cyme (Cumae)
Palaiapolis (Neapolis)
Posidonia (Paestum)
METAPONTUM
TARAS (TARENTUM)
Hydrus (Hydruntum)
Heraclea
Callipolis
Elea
SIRIS
Laus
Sybaris
Thurii
Petelia
Croton
Temsa
Terina
Hipponium (Vibo)
Scylacium
Medma
Caulonia
ZANCLE (MESSANA)
Locri
Rhegium
BATHS OF HIMERA
HIMERA
NAXOS
SELINUS
BATHS OF SELINUS
Heraclea Minoa
AKRAGAS (Agrigentum)
CATANA
LEONTONI
MEGARA
Phintias
SYRACUSAE
GELA
CAMARINA
CASMENAE
Doric Colonies.....SYRACUSAE, GELA.
Ionic " .....NAXOS.
Achaean and mixed colonies...Cyme, Locri.
Towns, which though not colonies afterwards became Hellenised:- Scylacium.
Stadia
Roman Miles
English Miles
Kilometres
Longitude East 16° of Greenwich
Walker & Boutall sc.

great masses, each bearing the name of that section of the Greek race with which they claimed affinity. The Aeolic cities covered the northern part of this coast, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Ionians occupied the centre, with the islands of Chios and Samos; and the Dorians the southern portion, with the islands of Rhodes and Cos (see above, p. 19). The Ionic cities, such as Milētus, Ephesus, Phocaea, and Colŏphon, were early distinguished by a spirit of commercial enterprise, and soon were superior in wealth and in power to their Aeolian and Dorian neighbours, but of these Miletus and Phocaea showed most energy in sending out colonies on their own part.

About the same time at which Miletus was founding the colonies in the Euxine, which will be noticed below, that is, between 800 and 750 B.C., colonies were planted by two Ionic cities of Euboea, Chalcis and Eretria, in the triple promontory of Macedonia, known as Chalcidĭcé. Among them were the Chalcidian colony Torōné and the Eretrian Mende.

2. The earliest Grecian settlement in Italy was Cumae in Campania, situated near Cape Misēnum, on the Tyrrhenian sea. It is said to have been a joint colony from the Aeolic Cyme in Asia and from Chalcis in Euboea, and to have been founded (though the date cannot be received as certain) as early as the 11th century B.C. Cumae was for a long time the most flourishing city in Campania; and it was not till its decline in the 5th century B.C. that Capua rose into importance.

The earliest Grecian settlement in Sicily was Naxos, founded by Chalcis, in 735 B.C. The extraordinary fertility of the land soon attracted numerous colonists from various parts of Greece, and there arose on the coasts of Sicily a succession of flourishing cities. Of these, Syracuse and Agrigentum, both Dorian colonies, became eventually the most powerful. Syracuse was founded in 735 B.C., by the Corinthians, under the leadership of Archias; Agrigentum, founded about 580 B.C., a comparatively late offshoot from the Sicilian town of Gela, which was itself a colony from Rhodes, planted in 690.

The Greek colonies in southern Italy began to be planted at nearly the same time as in Sicily. They eventually lined the whole southern coast, as far as Cumae on the one sea and Tarentum on the other. They even surpassed those in Sicily in number and importance; and so numerous and flourishing did they become,

that the south of Italy received the name of Magna Graecia.* Of these, two of the earliest and most prosperous were Sybăris and Croton, both situated upon the gulf of Tarentum, and both of Achaean origin. Sybaris was planted in 720 B.C., and Croton in 710 B.C. For two centuries they seem to have lived in harmony, and we know scarcely anything of their history till their fatal contest in 510 B.C., which ended in the ruin of Sybaris. During the whole of this period they were two of the most flourishing cities in all Hellas. Sybaris in particular attained to an extraordinary degree of wealth, and its inhabitants were so notorious for their luxury that their name has become proverbial. Croton was the chief seat of the Pythagorean philosophy, which spread through many of the other cities of Magna Graecia.

Of the numerous other Greek settlements in the south of Italy, those of Locri, Rhegium, and Tarentum were the most important. Locri was founded by the Locrians from the mother-country in 683 B.C. Rhegium, situated on the straits of Messina, opposite Sicily, was colonised by the Chalcidians, but received a large body of Messenians, who settled here at the close of the Messenian war. Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium about 500 B.C., was of Messenian descent. He seized the Sicilian Zancle (also a colony of the Chalcidians, a few years earlier than Rhegium) on the opposite coast, and changed its name into Messana, which it still bears. Tarentum was a colony from Sparta, and was founded about 708 B.C. After the destruction of Sybaris it was the most powerful and flourishing city in Magna Graecia, and continued to enjoy great prosperity till its subjugation by the Romans. Although of Spartan origin, it did not maintain Spartan habits, and its citizens were noted at a later time for their love of luxury and pleasure.

The Greek settlements in the distant countries of Gaul and Spain were not numerous. The most celebrated was Massilia, the modern Marseilles, founded by the Ionic Phocaeans in 600 B.C. Half a century later (in 545) the Phocaeans in the mother-city, rather than submit to the Persian general,

* The name "Magna Graecia" was a translation of the name ἡ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς. Why should it be called *Great* Hellas? The most probable explanation that has been given is that at the time when it gained the name—in the 8th century B.C., when Sybaris and Croton were founded—Hellas proper was merely the strip of Achaïa (see note on p. 6), a district smaller than that which the Achaean emigrants colonized in Italy.

Harpăgus, whom they could not resist, abandoned their town and sailed away to Corsica, where they founded Alalia. But they were unable to withstand the combined attacks of the Etruscans and Carthaginians. So, a few years later, they left Alalia, and part founded the city of Velia, in Lucania, part settled down with their compatriots at Massilia, thus increasing its strength and prosperity.

3. The northern coast of Africa, between the territories of Carthage and Egypt, was also occupied by Greek colonists. The city of Cyrēné was founded about 630 B.C. It was a colony from the island of Thera in the Aegean, which was itself a colony from Sparta. The situation of Cyrene was well chosen. It stood on the edge of a range of hills, at the distance of ten miles from the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a fine view. These hills descended by a succession of terraces to the port of the town, called Apollonia. The climate was healthy, and the soil fertile. With these advantages Cyrene rapidly grew in wealth and power, and planted several colonies in the adjoining district, of which Barca, founded about 560 B.C., was the most important.

Even in Egypt, in the 7th century B.C., the people of Miletus were allowed by Psammetichus to form a settlement, which was further strengthened in the reign of Amăsis. This was Naucrătis, on the Canopic branch of the Nile, which formed a nucleus for other Greek settlements in lower Egypt.

4. There were several great colonies situated on the eastern side of the Ionian sea, in Epirus and its immediate neighbourhood. Of these the island of Corcȳra, now called Corfu, was the most wealthy and powerful. It was founded by the Corinthians about B.C. 700, and in consequence of its commercial activity it soon became a formidable rival to the mother-city. Hence a war broke out between these two states at an early period; and the most ancient naval battle in Grecian history was the one fought between their fleets in 664 B.C. The dissensions between the mother-city and her colony are frequently mentioned in history, and were one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian war. Notwithstanding their quarrels they joined in planting four colonies upon the same line of coast—Leucas, Anactorium, Apollonia, and Epidamnus.

The colonies in Macedonia and Thrace were very numerous, and extended all along the coast of the Aegean, of the Hellespont, of the Propontis, and of the Euxine, from the borders of Thessaly to the mouth of the Danube. Of these we can only glance at the most important. The colonies on the coast of Macedonia founded by Chalcis and Eretria have already been mentioned. The Corinthians likewise planted a few colonies on this coast, of which Potidaea, on the narrow isthmus of Pallēné, most deserves mention.

Of the colonies in Thrace, the most noted were Selymbria and Byzantium, both founded by the Megarians in the 7th century B.C.; Abdēra founded by the Teians in 554 B.C.; and Perinthus on the Propontis, founded by the Samians about 600 B.C. On the shores of the Euxine, as has been already noticed, the Milesians were most active colonizers. Cyzicus and Sinōpé were founded from Miletus in the 8th century B.C., Odessus, Tomi and other towns near the mouth of the Danube, about 600 B.C., and about the same time, furthest of all, Panticapaeum, the modern *Kertch* at the entrance of the sea of Azof.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSIAN WARS.—FROM THE IONIC REVOLT TO THE BATTLE OF MARATHON 500-490 B.C.

THE Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, whose foundation has been described in the foregoing chapter, were the neighbours of an Asiatic power which finally reduced them to subjection, all the more easily because with their prosperity, and also, perhaps, on account of their softer climate, there had grown up a love of wealth and luxury. The power to which they first yielded was the kingdom of Lydia, of which Sardis was the capital. Croesus was the last and most powerful of the Lydian kings belonging to the dynasty called the Mermnadae, of which Gyges was the founder. Most of the stories which have come down to us about Gyges are more or less mythical, but it is known through the Assyrian stone records that after some successes against the Greek cities, he himself was overthrown and slain by an invading army of Cimmerians from the shores of the sea of Azof, about 650 B.C. These Cimmerians also oppressed certain of the Greek cities till they were at last destroyed by Alyattes, King of Lydia, 600 B.C. Alyattes (as also, no doubt, his predecessor, Gyges) wished for seaports, and therefore resumed the attacks on the Greek cities. He took Smyrna and Colophon, and subdued also all the country west of the Halys and north of Mount Taurus. He was succeeded in 560 B.C. by his son Croesus, who conquered all the other Greek cities of the coast except Miletus, which was allowed to continue the alliance made with Alyattes. The rule of Croesus was not oppressive, and he permitted the cities to regulate their own affairs. He spoke the Greek language, welcomed Greek guests, and reverenced the Greek oracles, which he enriched with the most

Reduction of the Greek cities in Asia by Lydia.

munificent offerings. Everything seemed to betoken uninterrupted prosperity, when a people hitherto almost unknown suddenly became masters of the whole of western Asia.

Hitherto the dominant nation in Asia west of the Halys had been the Medes, since Cyaxares, the Median king, in about 630 B.C., included in his empire all the countries between the Halys and the Oxus. A quarrel between him and Alyattes had been arranged, and the peace between the two countries was secured by a marriage between Astyages, son and successor of Cyaxares, and the daughter of Alyattes. But now the Persians appeared upon the scene. The Persians were of the same race as the Medes, and spoke a dialect of the same language. They inhabited the mountainous region south of Media, which slopes gradually down to the low grounds on the coast of the Persian gulf. While the Medes became enervated by the corrupting influences to which they were exposed, the Persians preserved in their native mountains their simple and warlike habits. The western branch of the Persians was at this time ruled by Cyrus, son of a king Cambyses. Cyrus is described as king of Ansan, in Elam, that is, in Susiana; and it is probable that the stories which make him grandson of Astyages were a mere invention. He led his warriors from their mountain fastnesses, defeated the Medes in battle, took Astyages prisoner, and deprived him of his throne. The other nations included in the Median empire submitted to the conqueror, and the sovereignty of Upper Asia thus passed from the Medes to the Persians. The accession of Cyrus to the empire is placed in 559 B.C. A few years afterwards Cyrus turned his arms against the Lydians. Croesus had tried to secure himself by an alliance with Nebunahid (or Labynetus), successor of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, and with the Spartans; but before those allies were ready to help him, Cyrus took Sardis, and deprived Croesus of his throne (546 B.C.). The fall of Croesus was followed by the subjection of the Greek cities in Asia to the Persian yoke. They were taken one after the other by Harpagus, the Persian general. Some of the cities showed a brave spirit in their refusal to submit. The people of Teos and Phocaea sailed away from their homes, the one to Thrace, the other to Corsica, to form new settlements. The Lycian people of Xanthus set fire to

Rise of the Persians.

Cyrus conquers Lydia, 546 B.C.

their citadel with their wives and children and all their wealth in it, and then, sallying out, died to a man in battle. But no place in the mainland could hold out against the Persians, and even the islands of Lesbos and Chios sent in their submission to Harpagus, although the Persians then possessed no fleet to force them to obedience. Samos, on the other hand, maintained its independence, and appears soon afterwards as one of the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Cyrus continued his conquests in Asia, and in 538 subdued Babylon, but in 529 he was killed in battle fighting against the Massăgĕtae, a barbarous tribe near the Caspian. During the reign of Cambyses (529-521 B.C.), the son and successor of Cyrus, the Greek cities of Asia remained obedient to their Persian governors. It was in this reign that Polycrătes, tyrant of Samos, became the master of the Grecian seas. He had a hundred ships of war, with which he conquered several of the islands; and he aspired to nothing less than the dominion of Ionia, as well as of the islands in the Aegean. The Lacedaemonians, who had invaded the island at the invitation of the Samian exiles, for the purpose of overthrowing his government, were obliged to retire, after besieging his city in vain for forty days. Everything which he undertook seemed to prosper; but his good fortune at length excited the alarm of his ally Amasis, the king of Egypt. According to Herodotus, the Egyptian king, convinced that such amazing prosperity would sooner or later incur the envy of the gods, wrote to Polycrates, advising him to throw away one of his most valuable possessions, and thus inflict some injury upon himself. So Polycrates threw into the sea a favourite ring; but unfortunately it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fine fish which a fisherman had sent him as a present. Amasis now foresaw that the ruin of Polycrates was inevitable, and sent a herald to Samos to renounce his alliance. Not long afterwards Oroetes, the satrap of Sardis, who had a grudge against Polycrates, enticed him to the mainland, where he was immediately arrested and hanged upon a cross (522 B.C.).

Polycrates of Samos.

The reign of Darius, the third king of Persia (521–485 B.C.), is memorable in Grecian history. In his invasion of Scythia (probably 512 B.C.), his fleet, which was furnished by the Asiatic

Greeks, was ordered to sail up the Danube and throw a bridge of boats across the river. The account given by Herodotus (in which there seems to be a good deal that is legendary) is that the king himself, with his land forces, marched through Thrace; and, crossing the bridge, placed it under the care of the Greeks, telling them that he would march into Scythia, and if he did not return within sixty days, they might break down the bridge, and sail home. The sixty days passed away, and there was yet no sign of the Persian army; but soon the Greeks were astonished by the appearance of a body of Scythians, who told them that Darius was in full retreat, pursued by the whole Scythian nation, and that his only hope of safety depended upon that bridge. They urged the Greeks to seize this opportunity of destroying the Persian army, and of recovering their own liberty, by breaking down the bridge. The same advice was given by the Athenian Miltiades, the tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, and the future hero of Marathon. The other rulers of the Ionian cities were at first disposed to follow his suggestion; but Histiaeus of Miletus reminded them that their sovereignty depended upon the support of the Persian king; if he fell they would be expelled from their cities: so they resolved to wait. After great privations, Darius and his army at length reached the Danube and crossed the bridge in safety. The town of Myrcīnus, near the Strymon, was given to Histiaeus in reward for his services. Darius, on his return to Asia, left Megabazus in Europe with an army of 80,000 men to complete the subjugation of Thrace and of the Greek cities upon the Hellespont. Megabazus not only subdued the Thracians, but crossed the Strymon, conquered the Paeonians, and penetrated as far as the frontiers of Macedonia. He then sent heralds into Macedonia to demand earth and water, the symbols of submission. These were immediately granted by Amyntas, the reigning monarch (510 B.C.); and thus the Persian dominions were nominally extended to the borders of Thessaly. Megabazus, on his return to Sardis, told Darius that Histiaeus was gathering a power which might prove formidable to the Persian sovereignty, since Myrcinus commanded the navigation of the Strymon, and the commerce with the interior of Thrace. Darius summoned Histiaeus to his presence, and, under the

Darius and the Greeks.

pretext that he could not bear to be deprived of his company, carried him with the rest of the court to Susa. This apparently trivial circumstance was attended with important consequences to the Persian empire and to the whole Greek race.

For the next few years everything remained quiet in the Greek cities of Asia; but about 500 B.C. a revolution in Naxos, one of the islands in the Aegean sea, first disturbed the general repose, and occasioned the war between Greece and Asia. The exiled aristocrats, who had been driven out of Naxos by a rising of the people, applied for aid to Aristagŏras, the tyrant of Miletus and the son-in-law of Histiaeus. Aristagoras readily promised his assistance, knowing that, if they were restored by his means, he would become master of the island. He won over Artaphernes, the satrap of western Asia, by holding out to him the prospect of annexing not only Naxos, but all the islands of the Aegean sea, to the Persian empire. Artaphernes placed at his disposal a fleet of 200 ships under the command of Megabates, a Persian of high rank; but the Persian admiral revenged an affront, which he thought that Aristagoras had put upon him, by informing the Naxians of the object of the expedition. When the Persian fleet reached Naxos they were met by a vigorous resistance; and at the end of four months they were compelled to abandon the enterprise and return to Miletus. Aristagoras was now threatened with utter ruin. Having deceived Artaphernes, and incurred the enmity of Megabates, he could expect no favour from the Persian government, and might be called upon to defray the expenses of the armament. He began to think of exciting a revolt of his countrymen; and it chanced that he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiaeus, urging him to this very step. As the safest way of sending the message, Histiaeus had shaved the head of a faithful slave, branded upon it the necessary words, and as soon as the hair had grown again sent him off to Miletus. His motive for urging the Ionians to revolt was the desire of escaping from captivity at Susa, for he thought that Darius would send him down to the coast to put down an insurrection of his countrymen. Aristagoras forthwith called together the leading citizens of Miletus, and laid before them the project of revolt. They all approved of it with the

Events which led to the Ionian revolt.

exception of Hecataeus, one of the earliest Greek historians. Aristagoras laid down the supreme power in Miletus, and declared a democracy. The same form of government was established in the other Ionian cities, which thereupon openly revolted from Persia (499 B.C.).

Aristagoras now resolved to cross over to Greece, to ask for aid. The Spartans, to whom he first applied, refused to take any part in the war; but at Athens he was more successful. The Athenians sympathised with the Ionians as their kinsmen, and were incensed against the satrap Artaphernes, who had recently commanded them to recall Hippias. Accordingly they voted to send a squadron of twenty ships to help the Ionians; and in the following year (498 B.C.) this fleet, with five more ships from Eretria in Euboea, crossed the Aegean. The troops landed at Ephesus, and, being reinforced by a strong body of Ionians, marched upon Sardis. Artaphernes was taken unprepared; and not having sufficient troops to man the walls, he retired into the citadel, leaving the town to the invaders. They entered it unopposed; and while they were pillaging, one of the soldiers set fire to a house. As most of the houses were built of wicker-work and thatched with straw, the flames spread rapidly, and soon the whole city was in flames. The Greeks, on their return to the coast, were overtaken by a large Persian force and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians hastened on board their ships and sailed home.

Burning of Sardis, 498 B.C.

When Darius heard of the burning of Sardis, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. It was against the obscure strangers who had dared to burn one of his capitals that his wrath was chiefly directed. "The Athenians!" he exclaimed, "who are *they?*" When his question was answered, he took his bow, shot an arrow high into the air, saying, "Grant me, Jove, to take vengeance upon the Athenians!" And he charged one of his attendants to say thrice every day at dinner, "Sire, remember the Athenians." Meantime the insurrection spread to the Greek cities in Cyprus, as well as to those on the Hellespont and the Propontis, and seemed to promise independence to the Asiatic Greeks; but they were no match for the whole power of the Persian empire, which was soon brought against them. Cyprus was subdued, and siege was laid to the cities upon the

coast of Asia. Aristagoras now began to despair, and basely deserted his countrymen, whom he had led into peril. Collecting a large body of Milesians, he set sail for the Thracian coast, where he was slain under the walls of a town which he was besieging. Soon after his departure, his father-in-law, Histiaeus, came down to the coast. The artful Greek not only succeeded in removing the suspicions of Darius, but he persuaded the king to send him into Ionia, to help the Persian generals in suppressing the rebellion. Artaphernes, however, was not so easily deceived as his master, and plainly accused Histiaeus of treachery when the latter arrived at Sardis. "I will tell you how the facts stand," said he; "it was you who made the shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on." Finding himself unsafe at Sardis, he escaped to Chios, and then, having obtained eight galleys from Lesbos, he sailed towards Byzantium, and carried on piracies against both Greek and barbarian vessels. This unprincipled adventurer met with a traitor's death. Having landed on the coast of Mysia, he was surprised by a Persian force and made prisoner. Artaphernes caused him to be crucified, and sent his head to Darius. But Darius ordered it to be honourably buried, condemning the ignominious execution of a man who had once saved the life of the Great King.

In the sixth year of the revolt (494 B.C.), when several Greek cities had already been taken by the Persians, Artaphernes laid siege to Miletus by sea and land. A naval engagement took place at Ladé, a small island off Miletus, which decided the fate of the war. The Samians deserted at the beginning of the battle, and the Ionian fleet was completely defeated. Miletus was taken in the autumn of the same year, and was treated with signal severity. Most of the men were slain; and the few who escaped the sword were carried with the women and children into captivity (494 B.C.). The other Greek cities in Asia and the neighbouring islands were treated with the same cruelty. The islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were swept of their inhabitants; and the Persian fleet sailed up to the Hellespont and Propontis, carrying with it fire and sword. The Athenian Miltiades only escaped by a rapid flight to Athens.*

Battle of Ladé and end of the revolt, 494 B.C.

* The chronology of the Ionian revolt is not quite certain. It is known that the capture of Miletus was in the sixth year after the revolt began, and it is

The subjugation of Ionia was now complete. There had no doubt been numbers of patriots in the Ionian states, but want of union between the different cities, and the incapacity of the leaders in the revolt, left no chance of success. This was the third time that the Asiatic Greeks had been conquered by a foreign power: first, by the Lydian Croesus; secondly, by the generals of Cyrus; and now by those of Darius. It was from the last that they suffered most, and they never fully recovered their prosperity.

Darius had now time for his vengeance upon the Athenians. He appointed Mardonius to succeed to Artaphernes as satrap in western Asia, and he placed under his command a large armament, with orders to bring to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had insulted the authority of the Great King. Mardonius, after crossing the Hellespont, began his march through Thrace and Macedonia, subduing, as he went, the tribes which had not yet submitted to the Persians. He ordered the fleet to double the promontory of Mount Athos, and join the land forces at the head of the gulf of Therma; but one of the storms common on this dangerous coast destroyed 300 of the Persian ships, and drowned or dashed upon the rocks 20,000 men. Meantime the land forces of Mardonius had suffered so much from an attack made upon them by a Thracian tribe, that he could not proceed further. He led his army back across the Hellespont, and returned to the Persian court covered with shame (492 B.C.).

First expedition of the Persians against Greece.

The failure of this expedition did not shake the resolution of Darius. He began to make preparations for another attempt on a still larger scale, and meantime sent heralds to most of the Greek states to demand from each earth and water, in token of submission. Such terror had the Persians inspired by their recent conquest of Ionia, that many cities at once complied with the demand; but the Athenians cast the herald into a deep pit, and the Spartans threw him into a well, bidding him take earth and water from thence.

In the spring of 490 B.C. a large army and fleet were assembled in Cilicia, and the command was given to Datis, a Median, and Artaphernes, son of the satrap of Sardis. Warned by the

tolerably certain that this was 494 B.C. (though some make it 495). Some give 499 for the date of the burning of Sardis, and various dates between 497 and 494 are given for the battle of Ladé.

disaster which befell Mardonius in doubling the promontory of Mount Athos, they resolved to sail across the Aegean to Euboea, subduing on their way the Cyclades. It was not till they reached Euboea that they encountered any resistance. Eretria defended itself gallantly for six days, and repulsed the Persians with loss; but on the seventh the gates were opened to the besiegers by the treachery of two of its leading citizens. The city was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants were put in chains. From Eretria the Persians crossed over to Attica, and landed on the ever-memorable plain of Marathon, a spot which had been pointed out to them by the despot Hippias, who accompanied the army. It is probable that their object was to draw the Athenian troops away from Athens, and then either to destroy them or to keep them cooped up there, while the main Persian army proceeded to attack the city.

As soon as the news of the fall of Eretria reached Athens, a courier had been sent to Sparta to ask for help. This was promised; but the superstition of the Spartans prevented them from setting out immediately, since it wanted a few days to the full moon, and it was contrary to their religious customs to begin an expedition during this interval. Meantime the Athenians had marched to Marathon, and were encamped upon the hills which surrounded the plain to watch and check the Persians. According to the account preserved in Herodotus, they were commanded, agreeably to the regular custom, by ten generals, one for each tribe, and by the Polemarch, or third Archon, who down to this time continued to be a colleague of the generals. The most distinguished of the generals for energy and ability was Miltiades. When the news from Sparta reached them, the ten generals were divided in opinion. Five of them urged the importance of waiting for the arrival of the Lacedaemonian succours. Miltiades and the remaining four contended that not a moment should be lost in fighting the Persians, not only in order to avail themselves of the present enthusiasm of the people, but still more to prevent treachery from spreading among their ranks. Callimachus, the Polemarch, yielded to the arguments of Miltiades, and gave his vote for the battle. The ten generals commanded in rotation, each for one day; but they now agreed to surrender to Miltiades their days of command, in order to invest the whole power in a single person. There are many difficulties in this

view of the Athenian military office, and there is reason to think that it is not correct. But there can be no doubt of what is really the important point—that Miltiades had the chief direction, and the chief glory, of the battle which followed.

While the Athenians were encamped at Marathon, they received unexpected aid from the little town of Plataea, in Boeotia. Grateful to the Athenians for their help against the Thebans, the whole force of Plataea, amounting to 1000 heavy-armed men, marched to join them at Marathon. The Athenian army numbered only 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers: there were no archers or cavalry, and only some slaves as light-armed attendants. Of the number of the Persian army we have no trustworthy account, but it seems probable that it was at least six times as large as the Athenian army.

Description of Marathon.

The plain of Marathon lies on the eastern coast of Attica, twenty-two miles from Athens by the shortest road. It is about five miles long by two broad, lying between the mountains (which are to the north and west) and the sea. The coast is a long curve, running first eastwards from the headland Cynossema, and then bending to the south. At one end of the plain, where the Persian camp seems to have been, is a great marsh close under the hills; at the other end is a smaller marsh. Through the middle of the plain runs the watercourse of the Charadra. There are two distinct roads to Athens: one went to the north through the mountain passes; the other, and easier, road followed the coast southwards and passed round the southern slope of Pentelicus. The Athenians were encamped in a valley (now the valley of Avlona) looking down on the plain; a strong and useful position, dangerous for the Persians to attack, and at the same time commanding the approaches of the northern road to Athens, while it enabled the Athenians to attack advantageously on the flank an army which tried to proceed by the southern road.

Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

It is probable that the Persians, having failed to draw the Athenian army down into the plain, had decided to march upon Athens by the southern road; that they had already re-embarked their cavalry (which certainly took no part in the fight) to go thither by sea; and that they had crossed the Charadra, when the Athenians decided to give battle. Thus, when they faced the

enemy the Persians had the sea at their back, the Charadra on their right, and the smaller marsh on their left. Miltiades had drawn up his troops in the centre in shallow files, and resolved to rely for success upon the stronger and deeper masses of his wings. The right wing, which was the post of honour in a Grecian army, was commanded by the Polemarch Callimachus; the hoplites were arranged in the order of their tribes, so that

the members of the same tribe fought by each other's side; and at the extreme left stood the Plataeans.

Miltiades, anxious to come to close quarters as speedily as possible, ordered his soldiers to advance at a running step over the mile of ground which separated them from the foe, or at any rate, over the last part of it. (It must be remembered that they were charging down a slope.) Both the Athenian wings were successful, and drove the enemy before them towards the shore and the smaller, or southern, marshes. But the Athenian centre

Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

was broken by the Persians, and compelled to take to flight. Miltiades thereupon recalled his wings from pursuit, and charged the enemies' centre. The Persians could not withstand this combined attack. The rout now became general along the whole Persian line; and they fled to their ships, pursued by the Athenians.

The Persians lost 6400 men in this memorable engagement: the Athenians only 192. The aged tyrant Hippias is said to have perished in the battle, and the Polemarch Callimachus was also one of the slain. The Persians first sailed round Cape Sunium to see if they could surprise Athens denuded of troops. There was a story, which there is no reason to disbelieve, that a bright shield was raised on Mount Pentelicus, and it was thought by many that this was a signal* from some treacherous partisan in the city. But Miltiades suspected the attempt, and marched his troops straight back to Athens, where he arrived just as the enemies' ships hove in sight. The Persians, seeing that they were not unopposed, gave up the attempt and sailed away to Asia. Marathon became a magic word at Athens. The Athenian people in succeeding ages always looked back upon this day as the most glorious in their annals, and never tired of hearing its praises sounded by their orators and poets. And they had reason to be proud of it. It was the first time that the Greeks had ever defeated the Persians in the field. It was the exploit of the Athenians alone. It had saved not only Athens but all Greece. If the Persians had conquered at Marathon, Greece must, in all likelihood, have become a Persian province.

The one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had perished in the battle were buried on the field, and over their remains a tumulus or mound was erected, which may still be seen about half a mile from the sea.†

Shortly after the battle Miltiades requested of the Athenians a fleet of seventy ships, without telling them the object of his

* It is conjectured by Professor Bury that the shield was hoisted on Mount Pentelicus by a Persian scout to signal to the Persians the arrival of a detachment which they had sent round to block the road at Stamata in rear of the Athenians, and to prevent their marching back to Athens. If so, it was the signal for the Persian troops and ships to move towards Athens, shown before the battle, not, as was afterwards reported, after the fight was over.

† In the plan and details of the battle, Mr. Macan's recent treatise has for the most part been followed.

expedition, but only promising to enrich the state. Such unbounded confidence did the Athenians repose in the hero of Marathon, that they at once complied with his demand. This confidence Miltiades abused. In order to gratify a private animosity against one of the leading citizens of Paros, he sailed to that island and laid siege to the town. The citizens repelled all his attacks; and having received a dangerous injury to his thigh, he was compelled to raise the siege and return to Athens. Miltiades was accused by Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, and (as one of the Alcmaeonidae) an enemy of Miltiades, of having deceived the people. He was brought to trial: his wound had already begun to show symptoms of gangrene; he was carried into court on a couch, and there lay before the assembled judges, while his friends pleaded on his behalf. They could only remind the Athenians of the services he had rendered. The judges, instead of condemning him to death, as the accuser had demanded, inflicted a fine of fifty talents. Miltiades was unable to raise this sum, and died soon afterwards of his wound. The fine was subsequently paid by his son Cimon. It is impossible not to feel sorry that more generosity was not shown to the victor of Marathon, and an interesting comparison has been made between the fate of Miltiades and that of Sir Walter Raleigh. Both embarked on an enterprise which ought not to have been approved, and both were condemned really because the enterprise failed to bring the promised riches. It must, however, be remembered, in judging of the Athenian verdict, that they habitually made their leaders responsible, and also that the public trust had been abused. A precedent for employing an army or fleet for the private purposes of the commander could not safely be allowed.

End of Miltiades.

Soon after the battle of Marathon a war broke out between Athens and Aegina. This war is of great importance in Grecian history, since to it the Athenians were indebted for their navy, which enabled them to save Greece at Salamis as they had already done at Marathon. Aegina was one of the chief maritime powers in Greece; and accordingly Themistocles urged the Athenians to build and equip a large and powerful fleet, without which it was impossible for them to humble their rival. There was at this time a large surplus in the public

treasury, arising from the produce of the silver-mines at Laurium. It had been proposed to distribute this surplus among the Athenian citizens; but Themistocles persuaded them to sacrifice their private advantage to the public good, and to devote this money to building a fleet of 200 ships.

The two leading citizens of Athens at this period were Themistocles and Aristeides. These two eminent men formed a striking contrast to each other. Themistocles possessed extraordinary abilities; but they were marred by a want of honesty. Aristeides was inferior to Themistocles in ability, but was incomparably superior to him in honesty. His uprightness was so universally acknowledged that he was surnamed the "Just." Themistocles was the leader of the democratic, and Aristeides of the conservative party at Athens. After three or four years of bitter rivalry, the strife was ended by ostracism, and Aristides was banished (483 B.C.). We are told that a countryman gave his vote against Aristides at the ostracism, because he was tired of hearing him always called the Just.

GREECE & ADJOINING COASTS

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERSIAN WARS.—THE BATTLES OF THERMOPYLAE, SALAMIS, AND PLATAEA, 480–479 B.C.

THE defeat of the Persians at Marathon served only to increase the resentment of Darius. He now resolved to collect the whole forces of his empire, and to lead them in person against Greece. For three years busy preparations were made throughout his vast dominions. In the fourth year the plans of invasion were interrupted, partly by difficulties about the selection of the king's vicegerent, and eventual successor, and partly by a revolt of the Egyptians; and before this rebellion was quelled Darius himself died (485 B.C.). Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, in person was the tallest and handsomest man amidst the vast hosts which he led against Greece; but in character he was at once timid and childishly vain. Though, however, he inherited neither his father's enterprise nor his father's animosity against Greece, he was surrounded by men who urged him to make the expedition. Foremost among these was Mardonius, who was eager to retrieve his reputation, and to obtain the conquered country as a satrapy for himself. For four years after the pacification of Egypt (484 B.C.), Xerxes was preparing for the invasion of Greece. Troops were collected from every quarter of the Persian empire, and were ordered to assemble in Cappadocia. Meantime the king ordered a bridge to be thrown across the Hellespont, that his army might march from Asia into Europe, and a canal to be cut through the isthmus of Mount Athos, in order to avoid the necessity of doubling this dangerous promontory, where the fleet of Mardonius had suffered shipwreck. The making of this canal, which was about a mile and a half long, employed a number of men for three years.

Darius and, afterwards, Xerxes prepare for a second invasion of Greece.

In the spring of 480 B.C. Xerxes set out from Sardis with his vast host. From Abydos on the Hellespont the army crossed over to Europe by the bridge of boats. Xerxes surveyed the scene from a marble throne. His heart swelled within him at the sight of such a vast assemblage of human beings; but, with a sudden change of feeling, he burst into tears at the reflection that in a hundred years not one of these men would be alive. He continued his march through Europe along the coast of Thrace, to the plain of Doriscus, in the valley of the river Hebrus. Here he resolved to number his forces. We are told that the whole armament, both military and naval, consisted of 2,317,610 men, raised by further reinforcements to 2,641,610. The camp-followers are said to have been more numerous than the fighti. g men; but if they were only equal, the number of persons who accompanied Xerxes to Thermopylae reaches the astounding figure of 5,283,220! It is impossible to put faith in these estimates; but it is not unlikely that the number of the invading army was little short of a million.

March of Xerxes from Sardis.

From Doriscus Xerxes continued his march along the coast through Thrace and Macedonia. The principal cities through which he passed had to furnish a day's supplies for the immense host, and many were brought to the brink of ruin. At Acanthus his fleet sailed through the isthmus of Athos, and, after doubling the promontories of Sithonia and Pallēnē, joined him at the city of Therma, better known by its later name of Thessalonīca. Thence he proceeded through the southern part of Macedonia and Thessaly, meeting with no opposition till he reached the pass of Thermopylae.

Xerxes in Northern Greece.

The preparations of Xerxes had been no secret in Greece; and during the preceding winter a congress of the Greek states had been summoned by the Spartans and Athenians to meet at the isthmus of Corinth. But so great was the terror inspired by the approach of Xerxes that many of the states at once tendered their submission to him, and others refused to take any part in the congress. The only people, north of the isthmus of Corinth, who remained faithful to the cause of liberty, were the Athenians and Phocians, and the inhabitants of the

Parts taken by the various Greek states.

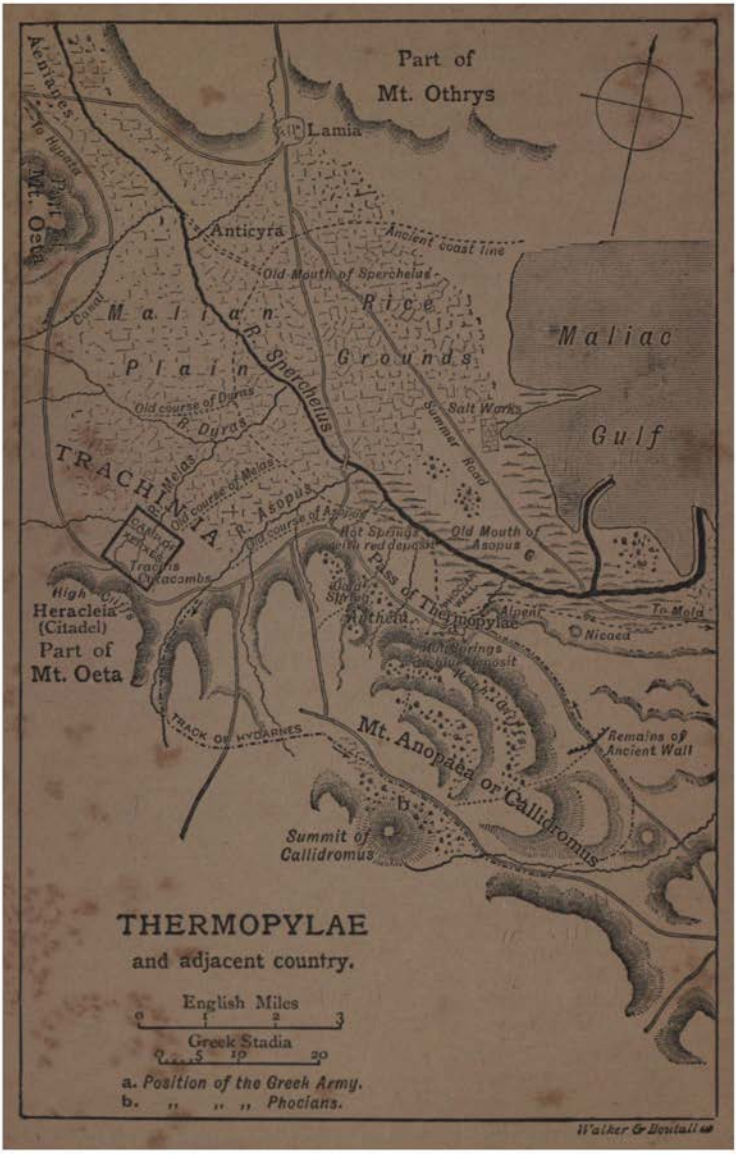
small Boeotian towns of Plataea and Thespiae. In Thessaly the popular party, though probably not the dominant families, were anxious to help in the defence of Greek liberty; and accordingly the federal council directed that 10,000 hoplites should be put under the command of Evaenētus and Themistocles, and sent to hold the pass of Tempe. They were, however, recalled when it was known that the Macedonians would give the Persian army a passage by another route; and the Thessalonians, thus left without aid, could only offer their submission to Xerxes. The other people in northern Greece were either partisans of the Persians, like the Thebans, or were unwilling to make any great sacrifices for the preservation of their independence. In Peloponnesus, the powerful city of Argos, from jealousy of Sparta, and the Achaeans stood aloof. From the more distant members of the Hellenic race no assistance was obtained. Gelo, the ruler of Syracuse, offered to send a powerful armament, provided the command of the allied forces was intrusted to him; but the envoys did not venture to accept a proposal which would have placed both Sparta and Athens under the control of a Sicilian prince.

The desertion of the cause of Grecian independence by so many of the Greeks did not shake the resolution of Sparta or of Athens. The Athenians, especially, set a noble example of patriotism. They became reconciled to the Aeginetans, and thus gained for the common cause the powerful navy of their rival. They yielded to the Spartans the supreme command of the forces by sea as well as by land, although they furnished two-thirds of the vessels of the entire fleet. Themistocles was the soul of the congress. He sought to kindle in the other Greeks some portion of the energy with which he had inspired the Athenians.

Athens and Sparta.

The Greeks determined to make a stand at the pass of Thermopylae, which forms the entrance from northern into southern Greece. This pass lies between Mount Oeta and the sea. It is about a mile in length. At each of its extremities the mountains approach so near the sea as to leave barely room for the passage of a single carriage. The northern, or, to speak more properly, the western Gate, was close to the town of Anthēla, where the Amphictyonic council held its autumnal meetings; while the

The pass of Thermopylae.



THERMOPYLAE

and adjacent country.

English Miles
0 1 2 3

Greek Stadia
5 10 20

a. *Position of the Greek Army.*
b. " " " *Phocians.*

Walker & Boutall sc

southern, or the eastern Gate, was near the Locrian town of Alpēnus. These narrow entrances were called Pylae, or the Gates. The space between the gates was distinguished by its hot springs, from which the pass derived the name of Thermopylae, or the "Hot-Gates." Midway was a wall of the Phocians, which had fallen into decay. The island of Euboea is here separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, which in one part is only two miles and a half in breadth; and accordingly it is easy, by defending this part of the sea with a fleet, to prevent an enemy from landing troops at the southern end of the pass.

Preparations for the defence of the pass.

The Greek fleet, under the command of the Spartan Eurybiades, took up its station off that portion of the northern coast of Euboea which faces Magnesia and the entrance to the Thessalian gulf, and which was called Artemisium, from a neighbouring temple of Artemis. The land force sent to the defence of Thermopylae was small; for when the arrival of Xerxes at Therma became known, the festival of the Carnean Apollo, which was observed with great solemnity at Sparta and in other Doric states, was foolishly made a reason for unpatriotic delay. The Peloponnesians therefore sent forward only 300 Spartans and 3000 hoplites from other Peloponnesian states, under the command of the Spartan king Leōnīdas, a force which they hoped would be sufficient to maintain the pass till the festivals were over. In his march northwards Leonidas received additions from the Thespians, Phocians, and Locrians, so that he had under his command at Thermopylae about 7000 men. When he reached the pass he repaired the Phocian wall, and posted his main forces behind it. On the heights inland, called Anopaea, he stationed the Phocian troops.

Xerxes reaches Thermopylae.

Meanwhile Xerxes had arrived within sight of Thermopylae. He had heard that a handful of men, commanded by a Spartan, had determined to dispute his passage, but he refused to believe it. He was still more astonished when a horseman, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, brought back word that he had seen several Spartans outside the wall in front of the pass, some amusing themselves with gymnastic exercises, and others combing their long hair. He asked the exiled Spartan

king Demarātus, who had accompanied him from Persia, what was the meaning of such madness. Demaratus replied, that the Spartans would defend the pass to the death, and that it was their custom to comb their hair carefully when they were going to battle. Xerxes, it is said, sent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas desired him "to come and take them." One of the Spartans being told that "the Persian host was so prodigious that their arrows would conceal the sun:"—"So much the better" (he replied), "we shall then fight in the shade."

At length, upon the fifth day, Xerxes ordered a chosen body of Medes to advance against the presumptuous foes and bring them into his presence. But their numbers were of no avail in a narrow space, and they were kept at bay by the long spears and steady ranks of the Greeks. After the combat had lasted a long time with heavy loss to the Medes, Xerxes ordered his ten thousand "Immortals," the flower of the Persian army, to advance. But they were as unsuccessful as the Medes. Xerxes beheld the repulse of his troops from a throne which had been placed for him, and was seen to leap thrice from his seat in fear or rage.

On the following day the attack was renewed, but with no better success: and Xerxes was beginning to despair of forcing the pass, when a Malian, named Ephialtes, betrayed to the Persian king that there was a path across Mount Oeta, ascending on the northern side of the mountain and descending on the southern side near the end of the pass. A strong detachment of Persians under the command of Hydarnes was ordered to follow the traitor. The Phocian troops on the heights are said to have slumbered at their post, and to have retired from the path when they were roused by the approach of the Persians. In no way could they have offered effectual resistance. Hydarnes led his troops past them, and with the morning light was seen descending from the mountain in rear of the Greek defenders. Meantime Leonidas had received ample notice of the danger. During the night deserters from the enemy had brought him the news; and their intelligence was confirmed by his own scouts on the hills. His resolution was at once taken. As a Spartan he was bound to

Persian troops led across the mountain.

conquer or to die in the post assigned to him; and he was the more ready to sacrifice his life, since an oracle had declared that either Sparta itself or a Spartan king must perish by the Persian arms. His three hundred comrades were filled with a like heroism; and the seven hundred Thespians resolved to share the fate of this gallant band. He allowed the rest of the allies to retire, with the exception of four hundred Boeotians, whom he retained as hostages. Xerxes delayed his attack till the middle of the day, when it was expected that the detachment sent across the mountain would arrive at the rear of the pass. But Leonidas and his comrades, only anxious to sell their lives as dearly as possible, without waiting for the attack of the Persians, advanced into the open space in front of the pass, and charged the enemy with desperate valour. Numbers of Persians were slain; many were driven into the neighbouring sea; and others again were trampled to death by the vast hosts behind them. As long as the Greeks could maintain their ranks they repelled every attack; but when their spears were broken, and they had only their swords left, the enemy began to press in between them. Leonidas was one of the first that fell, and around his body the battle raged fiercer than ever. The Persians tried to obtain possession of it; but four times they were driven back by the Greeks with great slaughter. At length, thinned in numbers, and exhausted with fatigue and wounds, the survivors retired to a hillock within the pass. Meanwhile, the Persian detachment which had been sent across the mountains began to enter the pass from the south. The Spartan heroes were now surrounded on every side, overwhelmed with a shower of missiles, and killed to a man.

On the little hill where the Greeks made their last stand, a marble lion was set up in honour of Leonidas. Another monument, erected near the spot, contained the memorable inscription:—

"Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their laws we lie." *

The pass was lost, but its defenders had not died in vain. The long detention of the great Persian army by a handful of Greeks was a heavy discouragement to the invaders, and of

* Ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

incalculable value to Greek liberty, in teaching the patriotic states not to despair.

While Leonidas had been fighting at Thermopylae, the Greek fleet of 271 triremes, under command of the Spartan Eurybiades, had also been engaged with the Persians at Artemisium. The Persian fleet set sail from the gulf of Therma, and arrived in one day at almost the southern corner of Magnesia. In this position they were overtaken by a sudden hurricane, which blew upon the shore with irresistible fury. For three days and three nights the tempest raged; and when calm at length returned, the shore was seen strewed for many miles with wrecks and corpses. At least four hundred ships of war were destroyed, together with a countless number of transports, stores, and treasures. The Greek fleet, on the approach of the Persians, had retreated to Chalcis, in the narrowest part of the Euboean straits; but upon hearing of the disaster of the Persian fleet, they took courage, and, sailing back to their former station at Artemisium, made an attack in which they gained some success. On the following night another storm burst upon the Persians. All night long it blew upon the Thessalian coast at Aphĕtae, where the Persian ships were stationed, causing little inconvenience to the Greeks upon the opposite shore. Notwithstanding their losses, the Persian fleet still had a great superiority of numbers, and determined to offer battle to the Greeks. Quitting the Thessalian coast, they sailed towards Artemisium in the form of a crescent. The Athenian contingent had meanwhile been strengthened by a reinforcement of 50 ships. The Greeks kept near the shore, to prevent the Persians from bringing their whole fleet into action. The battle raged the whole day. Both sides suffered severely; and though the Persians lost a greater number of ships and men, yet so many of the Greek vessels were disabled that they thought it impossible to renew the combat. Under these circumstances the Greek commanders resolved to retreat; and their determination was hastened by the news which they now received, that Leonidas and his companions had fallen, and that Xerxes was master of the pass of Thermopylae. All idea of defending the approaches to central Greece had vanished, and their only hope now was to protect their own coasts further south. Having sailed through the

Naval battles at Artemisium.

Euboean strait, the fleet doubled the promontory of Sunium, and did not stop till it reached the island of Salamis.

By this time the Peloponnesians had determined to leave Attica and the adjoining states to their fate, while they strained every nerve to secure themselves by fortifying the isthmus of Corinth. The Athenians, relying upon the march of a Peloponnesian army into Boeotia, had taken no measures for the security of their families and property, and beheld with dismay the barbarian host in full march towards their city. In six days Xerxes would be at Athens—a short space to remove the population of a whole city: but fear and necessity work wonders. Before the six days had elapsed, all who were willing to abandon their homes had been safely transported, some to Aegina, and others to Troezen in Peloponnesus; but many would go no further than Salamis. It was necessary for Themistocles to use all his art and all his eloquence on this occasion. The oracle at Delphi had told the Athenians that "the divine Salamis would make women childless,"—yet, "when all was lost, a wooden wall should still shelter the Athenians." Themistocles, with true statesmanship, told his countrymen that these words clearly indicated a fleet and a naval victory as the only means of safety. The Persian army could not be prevented from overrunning Attica, but they could be stopped, and even exposed to disaster, at the narrow passage of the isthmus by the combined forces of the Peloponnese, provided that the Greek fleet could keep the sea. The one hope now for the safety of the Athenian population, as well as for the defence of the Peloponnese, lay in strengthening the naval force by every possible means. Some, however, interpreted the oracle literally; and a few, especially among the aged and the poor, resolved to shut themselves up in the Acropolis, and to fortify its accessible western front with barricades of timber.

Position of the Athenians.

On the march towards Athens, a Persian detachment tried to plunder Delphi. But this attempt proved unsuccessful. According to the stories which prevailed, the god of the most renowned oracle of the Grecian world came to save his sanctuary from profanation. As the Persians climbed the rugged path at the foot of Mount Parnassus, leading up to the shrine, thunder was heard, and two crags, suddenly detaching

Detachment of Persians repulsed from Delphi.

themselves from the mountain, rolled down upon the Persians, and spread destruction in their ranks. Seized with panic, they turned and fled, pursued, as they said, by two warriors of superhuman size and prowess, who had assisted the Delphians in defending their temple.

Athens taken and burnt.

When he reached Athens, Xerxes found the Acropolis occupied by a handful of desperate citizens, who made a brave resistance, but were overpowered and put to the sword. The temples and houses on the Acropolis were pillaged and burnt.

About the same time the Persian fleet arrived in the bay of Phalērum. Its strength is not accurately known, but it must have exceeded 1000 vessels. The combined Grecian fleet at Salamis consisted of 366 ships, of which 200 were Athenian.

Dissension of the Greek admirals.

At this critical juncture dissension reigned in the Grecian fleet. In the council of war which had been summoned by the Spartan Eurybiades, Themistocles urged the assembled chiefs to remain at Salamis, and give battle to the Persians in the narrow straits, where the superior numbers of the Persians would be of less consequence. There was, moreover, a better chance of fighting with their whole strength, since, in case of a retreat southwards, it was likely that many contingents would go off to protect their own cities. Aeginetans and Megarians, for the safety of their own homes, adopted the views of Themistocles: the Peloponnesian commanders, on the other hand, were anxious that the fleet should be removed to the isthmus of Corinth, and thus be put in communication with their land-forces. The council came to a vote in favour of retreat; but Themistocles prevailed upon Eurybiades to convene another assembly upon the following day. When the council met, the Peloponnesian commanders were angry that the question should be re-opened. Adeimantus, the Corinthian admiral, broke out into open menaces. "Themistocles," he exclaimed, "those who rise at the public games before the signal are whipped." "True," replied Themistocles; "but they who lag behind it never win a crown." Another incident, preserved by Plutarch, has passed into a proverb. Eurybiades, incensed by the words of Themistocles, lifted up his stick to strike him, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed, "Strike, but hear me!" Themistocles

repeated his arguments; and at length threatened that he and the Athenians would sail away to Italy and there found a new city, if the Peloponnesians still determined to retreat. Eurybiades now gave way, and issued orders for the fleet to remain and fight at Salamis. But the Peloponnesians obeyed with reluctance; the movements of the great Persian army on the shore so impressed them that their anxiety to defend the isthmus returned. A third council was summoned; and Themistocles, perceiving that the decision would be against him, determined to effect his object by stratagem. He secretly despatched a trusty slave with a message to Xerxes, representing how easy a matter it would be to surround and vanquish an armament both small and disunited. Xerxes readily adopted the suggestion, and ordered his captains to close up the straits of Salamis at both ends during the night. On the council assembling in the morning, Aristides arrived with the news that their fleet was completely surrounded by that of the Persians, and that retreat was no longer possible. As the veil of night rolled gradually away, the Persian fleet was discovered stretching as far as the eye could reach along the coast of Attica. Xerxes had caused a throne to be erected upon one of the projecting declivities of Mount Aegaleos, opposite the harbour of Salamis, whence he could survey the combat, and stimulate by his presence the courage of his men.

As a battle was now inevitable, the Greek commanders lost no time in making preparations for it. The seamen embarked, encouraging one another to deliver their country, their wives and children, and the temples of their gods, from the barbarian enemy. The Persian fleet, also, with the exception of some of the Ionic contingents, fought with courage. But the very numbers on which they relied, proved one of the chief causes of their defeat. Too closely crowded either to advance or to retreat, their oars broken or impeded by collision with one another, their fleet lay like an inert and lifeless mass upon the water, and fell an easy prey to the Greeks. A single incident will illustrate the terror and confusion which reigned among them. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus in Caria, distinguished herself by deeds of daring. At length she turned and fled, pursued by an Athenian galley. Full in her course lay the vessel of a Carian prince. Instead of

Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

avoiding, she struck and sunk it, sending her countryman and all his crew to the bottom. The captain of the Athenian galley, believing from this act that she was a deserter from the Persian cause, suffered her to escape. Xerxes, who from his throne beheld the feat of the Halicarnassian queen, imagining that the sunken ship belonged to the Greeks, was filled with admiration at her courage, and exclaimed—"My men are become women, my women men!"

BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

Walker & Boutall sc.

Two hundred of the Persian ships were destroyed, when night put an end to the engagement. But notwithstanding this loss, the fleet was still formidable by its numbers. The Greeks themselves did not regard the victory as decisive, and prepared to renew the combat. The cowardice of Xerxes relieved them from all further anxiety. He became alarmed for his own safety, and his sole object now was to keep open his retreat by land. The best troops were disembarked

Xerxes returns to Asia, leaving Mardonius in Greece.

from the ships, and marched towards the Hellespont, in order to secure the bridge; the fleet was ordered to make for Asia. These arrangements of Xerxes were prompted by Mardonius. He represented to his master that the defeat, after all, was but slight; that, having attained one of the great objects of the expedition by the capture of Athens, the king might now retire with honour, and even with glory; and leave his general with a portion of the army to complete the conquest of Greece. While the Persian fleet sailed towards Asia, Xerxes set out on his homeward journey. In Thessaly Mardonius selected the 300,000 men with whom he hoped to conclude the war; but as autumn was now approaching, he resolved to postpone all further operations till the spring.

After forty-five days' march from Attica, Xerxes again reached the shores of the Hellespont, with a force greatly diminished by famine and pestilence. On the Hellespont he found his fleet; but the bridge had been washed away by storms, and some further time elapsed before the whole of the hunger-stricken army was transported to the shores of Asia.

Greece owed its salvation to one man—Themistocles. This was virtually admitted by the leaders of the other Greek states, when they assembled to assign the prizes of wisdom and conduct. Upon the altar of Poseidon, at the isthmus of Corinth, each chief deposited a ticket inscribed with two names, of those whom he considered entitled to the first and second prizes. It was found that each commander had put down his own name for the first prize; for the second there was a great majority in favour of Themistocles. It was a sign of the jealousy felt in many states against the Athenians, and Themistocles in particular, that at Delphi the offerings of the Aeginetans, to whom fell the first prize for valour, were accepted, while those of Themistocles were rejected. From the Spartans Themistocles received the honours due to his merit. A crown of olive was conferred upon him, together with one of the most splendid chariots which the city could produce.

Prizes for merit.

In the same year—as some alleged, on the same day—in which the Persians were defeated at Salamis, the Sicilian Greeks also obtained a victory over the Carthaginians. There is reason to believe that the invasion of Sicily by the

Carthaginians was concerted with Xerxes, and that the simultaneous attack on two distinct Grecian peoples, by two immense armaments, was not merely the result of chance. Gelo, the powerful ruler of Syracuse, defeated Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, with great loss at Himĕra.

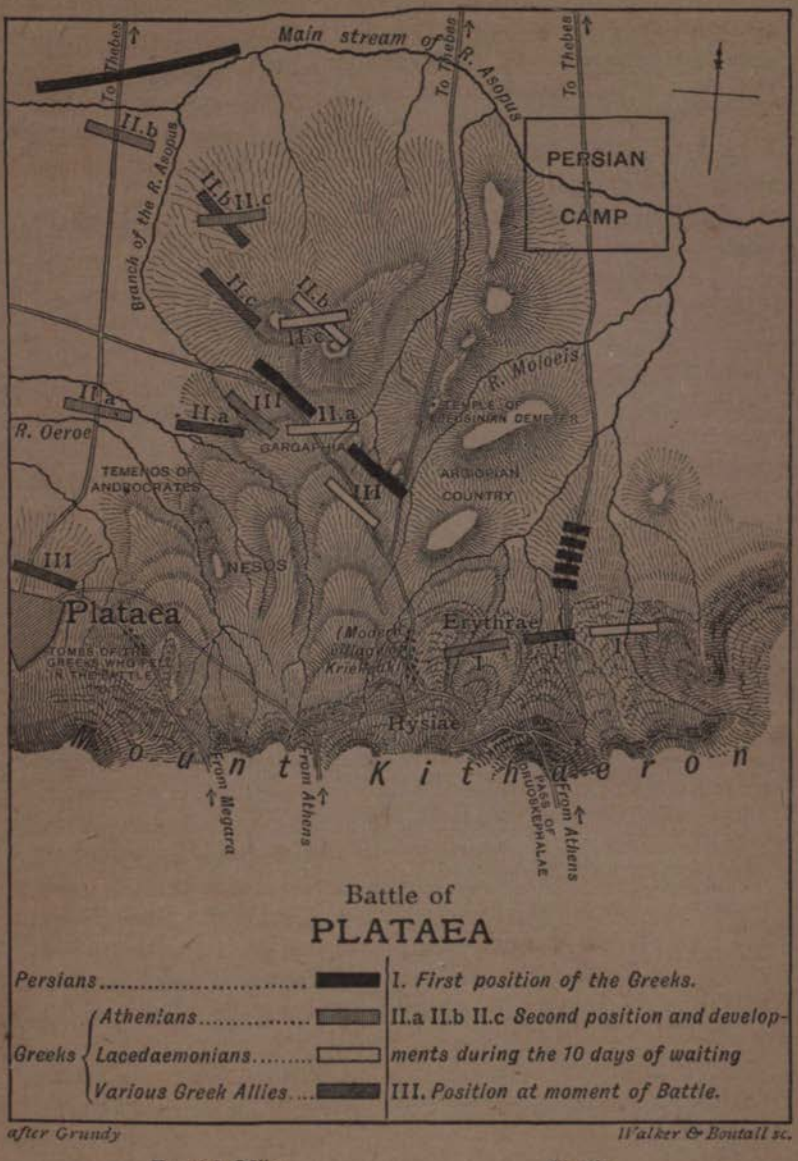
Battle of Himera in Sicily.

In the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius prepared to open the campaign. He was not without hopes of inducing the Athenians to join the Persian alliance, and he despatched Alexander, king of Macedon, to conciliate the Athenians, now partially re-established in their dilapidated city. He offered, on the part of the Persians, to grant them independence with increased territory, and money to rebuild their city; but the Athenians dismissed him with a positive refusal, and assured the Lacedaemonians that no temptations would induce them to desert the common cause of Greece. In return for this good faith, all they asked was that a Peloponnesian army should be sent into Boeotia for the defence of the Attic frontier: a request which the Spartan envoys promised to grant. No sooner, however, had they returned into their own country than this promise was forgotten.

When Mardonius knew that the Athenians had rejected his proposal, he marched against Athens, accompanied by all his Grecian allies; and in May or June, 479 B.C. about ten months after the retreat of Xerxes, the Persians again occupied that city. With bitter indignation against their faithless allies, the Athenians saw themselves again compelled to remove to Salamis. Mardonius thought that now he might win them to his alliance. Through a Hellespontine Greek, the same conditions were again offered to them, but were again refused. One man alone, the senator Lycĭdas, spoke in favour of the Persian proposals. But his speech cost him his life. He and his family were stoned to death by the excited populace. In this desperate condition the Athenians sent ambassadors to the Spartans to upbraid them with their breach of faith, and to intimate that Athens might yet be driven in to an alliance with Persia. The Spartans became alarmed. That very night 5000 citizens, each attended by seven Helots, were despatched to the frontiers; and these were shortly followed by 5000 Lacedaemonian Perioeci, each attended by one light-armed

Renewed offers of Mardonius.

The Spartans decide to send troops.



Battle of

PLATAEA

Persians		I. *First position of the Greeks.*
Greeks — Athenians		II.a II.b II.c *Second position and developments during the 10 days of waiting*
Greeks — Lacedaemonians		
Greeks — Various Greek Allies		III. *Position at moment of Battle.*

after Grundy — *Walker & Boutall sc.*

English Miles: 0, ¼, ½, 1, 2 — 1000 Yards

Stadia: 0, 5, 10, 20 — 1000 Metres

Helot. Never before had the Spartans sent so large a force into the field. Their example was followed by other Peloponnesian cities; and the Athenian envoys returned to Salamis with the news that a large army was preparing to march against the enemy, under the command of Pausanias, who acted as regent for the infant son of Leonidas.

Mardonius, on the approach of the Lacedaemonians, abandoned Attica and crossed into Boeotia. He finally took up a position on the left bank of the Asōpus, and not far from the town of Plataea. Here he caused a camp to be constructed of ten furlongs square, and fortified with barricades and towers. Meanwhile the Greek army continued to receive reinforcements from the different states, and by the time it reached Boeotia it formed a grand total of 110,000 men, of whom 38,000 were heavy-armed troops (hoplites). The Spartans composed the right wing, the Athenians the left; the other Greek contingents formed the centre. They were stationed first on the lower slopes of Cithaeron, protected by the nature of the ground from the Persian cavalry, whose attack was repelled with the loss of the commander, Masistius. Encouraged by this success, Pausanias moved his army to some low hills in the plain. His left wing was near the fountain of Gargaphia, his right extended to a branch of the Asopus (the main Asopus being between the two armies). From this position Pausanias first advanced further into the plain, and then, finding himself exposed to cavalry attacks, drew back again to the ridge which bordered the plain on the south. At length, when the armies had thus manœuvred for ten days, neither daring to attack, Pausanias, who throughout displayed a want of courage and resolution, drew his forces still further back. The cavalry of the enemy, issuing from the camp, had stopped the water-supply at Gargaphia, and he wished to reach a position nearer Plataea, where he would be less molested. Many of his troops were reluctant to retire before the enemy, so that when day broke the Greek army was in movement, not having yet occupied its new position. The centre had already reached Plataea. Mardonius at once marched out to battle, but fortunately in hurried pursuit, with no regular formation. The Spartans were therefore able to face about and take their foes at a disadvantage. The Persians in actual fight were no match

Battle of Plataea.

for the Spartan hoplites. The Persian centre was driven back, and, after Mardonius was killed, was completely broken. Forty thousand of them, under Artabazus, held together and effected their retreat northwards, and eventually reached the Hellespont: the rest of the beaten army took refuge in the fortified camp. The glory of having defeated the Persians at Plataea rests with the Lacedaemonians, since the Athenians were engaged in another part of the field with the Thebans. After repulsing the Thebans, the Athenians joined the Lacedaemonians, who had pursued the Persians as far as their camp. Upon the arrival of the Athenians and Tegeans, the barricades were stormed and carried. The camp became a scene of the most horrible carnage. The Persian loss was immense, while that of the Greeks seems not to have exceeded 1300 or 1400 men. It remained to bury the dead and divide the booty, and so great was the task that ten days were consumed in it. The booty was ample. Gold and silver, rich carpets, ornamented arms, horses, camels—in a word, all the magnificence of Eastern luxury.

The failure of the Persian expedition was completed by the destruction of their naval armament. Leotychides, the Spartan admiral, having sailed across the Aegean, found the Persian fleet at Mycălé, a promontory of Asia Minor near Miletus. Their former reverses seem completely to have discouraged the Persians from hazarding another naval engagement. The ships were hauled ashore and surrounded with a rampart, whilst an army of 60,000 Persians lined the coast for their defence. The Greeks landed on the very day on which the battle of Plataea was fought. The Greeks preserved a story that a divine message was conveyed by a herald's staff, which floated over the Aegean from the shores of Greece, and that hence the knowledge of a great victory taking place at that moment in Boeotia spread through all the Greciad ranks at Mycalé as they marched to the attack. The Persians did not long resist: they turned their backs and fled to their fortifications, pursued by the Greeks, who entered them almost at the same time. Many of the Persians perished; and the victory was rendered decisive by the burning of the fleet.

Battle of Mycalé.

The Greek fleet now sailed towards the Hellespont to destroy the bridge; but, hearing that it no longer existed, Leotychides departed homewards with the Peloponnesian vessels. Xanthippus

however, the Athenian commander, seized the opportunity to recover from the Persians the Thracian Chersonese; and proceeded to blockade Sestos, the key of the strait. This city surrendered in the autumn, and the Athenians returned home, carrying with them the cables of the bridge, which were afterwards preserved in the Acropolis as a trophy.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE END OF THE PERSIAN WARS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 479–431 B.C.

THE Athenians, on their return to Attica, after the defeat of the Persians, found their city ruined and their country desolate. They began to rebuild their city on a larger scale than before, and to surround it with a wall. Those allies who dreaded the increasing maritime power of Athens, and especially the Aeginetans, beheld her rising fortifications with dismay. They even urged the Lacedaemonians to stop the work by force. But though Sparta shared the jealousy of the allies, she could not with any decency take up arms to prevent a friendly city from exercising a right inherent in all independent states. Under the pretence of zeal for the common interests of Greece, she represented to the Athenians that, in the event of another Persian invasion, fortified towns would serve the enemy for camps and strongholds, as Thebes had done in the last war; and proposed that the Athenians should not only desist from completing their own fortifications, but help to demolish those which already existed in other towns.

The Spartans try to prevent the fortification of Athens.

The object of the proposal was too transparent to deceive so acute a statesman as Themistocles; but, since Athens was not yet in a condition to risk a war, he advised the Athenians to dismiss the Spartan envoys with the assurance that they would send ambassadors to Sparta to explain their views. He then caused himself to be appointed one of these ambassadors; and, setting off for Sparta, directed his colleagues to linger behind as long as possible. At

Stratagem of Themistocles.

Sparta, the absence of his colleagues, at which he affected to be surprised, afforded him an excuse for not demanding an audience of the ephors. During the interval thus gained, the whole population of Athens, men, women, and children, worked day and night at the walls, which, when the other ambassadors at length arrived at Sparta, were high enough to afford a tolerable defence. Meanwhile the suspicions of the Spartans had been more than once aroused by messages from the Aeginetans respecting the progress of the walls. Themistocles positively denied their statements; and urged the Spartans to send messengers of their own to Athens in order to learn the true state of affairs, at the same time instructing the Athenians to detain them as hostages for the safety of himself and colleagues. When there was no longer any motive for concealment, Themistocles openly avowed the progress of the works, and his intention of securing the independence of Athens, and enabling her to act for herself. The walls being now too far advanced to be easily taken, the Spartans found themselves compelled to acquiesce, and the works were completed without further hindrance.

Having thus secured the city from all danger of an immediate attack, Themistocles returned to his favourite plan of rendering Athens the greatest maritime and commercial power of Greece. He fortified the town and harbour of Peiraeus, distant between four and five miles from Athens, by a wall of greater height and thickness than that of the city itself. Meanwhile events occurred which secured more firmly than ever the maritime supremacy of Athens, by transferring to her the command of the allied fleet.

Walls of Athens and the Peiraeus.

In the year after the battle of Plataea a fleet had been fitted out and placed under the command of the Spartan regent, Pausanias, in order to carry on the war against the Persians. After delivering most of the Greek towns in Cyprus from the Persians, this armament sailed up the Bosporus and laid siege to Byzantium, which was garrisoned by a large Persian force. The town surrendered after a protracted siege; but during the expedition the conduct of the Spartan commander struck a fatal blow at the interests of his country.

The Greeks take Byzantium.

The wealth and renown which Pausanias had acquired at Plataea had filled him with ambition. After the capture of Byzantium he despatched a letter to Xerxes, offering to marry the king's daughter, and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece under his dominion. Xerxes sent a reply in which he urged Pausanias to pursue his project night and day, and promised to supply him with all the money and troops that might be needful for its execution. But the childish vanity of Pausanias betrayed his plot too soon. Elated by the confidence of Xerxes, and by the money with which he was supplied, he acted as if he had already married the Great King's daughter. He assumed the Persian dress; and he made a progress through Thrace, attended by Persian and Egyptian guards; and copied, in the luxury of his table and the dissoluteness of his manners, the example of his adopted country. Above all, he offended the allies by his imperious demeanour. His altered behaviour was now too manifest to escape suspicion, and the Spartan ephors sent out Dorcis to supersede him. But meanwhile, disgusted by the insolence of Pausanias, the Ionians serving in the combined Grecian fleet addressed themselves to the Athenian commander, Aristeides, whose character formed a striking contrast to that of the Spartan leader, and begged him to take the command. This request was made precisely at the time when Pausanias was recalled; and accordingly, when Dorcis arrived, he found Aristeides in command of the combined fleet (478 B.C.).

Ambition and insolence of Pausanias.

For the Ionian states of Asia Minor, who supplied by far the largest contingent to the allied fleet, Athens was a more natural leader than the Dorian Sparta, and this inclination was enforced by the misconduct of Pausanias. It was not a mere empty question about a point of honour. It was a real revolution, terminated by a solemn league, of which Athens was to be the head. Aristeides took the lead in the matter, for which his proverbial justice qualified him. The league was named "the Confederacy of Delos," from its being arranged that deputies of the allies belonging to it should meet periodically in the temple of Apollo in that island. Each state was assessed in a certain contribution, either of money or ships,

Confederacy of Delos: transfer of the leadership to Athens.

as proposed by the Athenians and ratified by the synod. The assessment was intrusted to Aristeides, whose impartiality was universally acknowledged. Of the details, we only know that the first assessment amounted to 460 talents (nearly 100,000*l.* sterling), that certain officers called Hellenotamiae were appointed by the Athenians to collect and administer the contributions, and that Delos was the treasury.

Such was the origin of the Confederacy of Delos, formed at this time for the protection of Greece against the Persians, and for the recovery from them of what was regarded as Greek territory. Its development into an empire for Athens will be seen hereafter. Soon after its formation Aristeides was succeeded in the command of the combined fleet by Cimon, the son of Miltiades.

Treason and death of Pausanias.

Pausanias, on his return to Sparta, seems to have been acquitted of any definite charges; but he continued his correspondence with Persia, and an accident at length afforded proof of his guilt. A favourite slave, to whom he had intrusted a letter to the Persian satrap at Sardis, had observed that none of the messengers employed in this service had ever returned. He therefore broke the seal, and finding his suspicions of the fate that awaited him confirmed, he carried the letter to the ephors. To obtain unquestionable evidence, the ephors directed him to plant himself as a suppliant in the sacred grove near Cape Taenarum, in a hut behind which two of their body might conceal themselves. Pausanias, as they had expected, anxious at the step taken by his slave, hastened to the spot to question him about it. The conversation which ensued, and which was overheard by the ephors, rendered the guilt of Pausanias no longer doubtful. They now determined to arrest him on his return to Sparta. They met him in the street near the temple of Athena. Pausanias, either alarmed by his guilty conscience, or put on his guard by a secret signal from one of the ephors, turned and fled to the temple. From this sanctuary it was unlawful to drag him; but the ephors caused the doors to be built up and the roof to be removed, and his own mother is said to have placed the first stone at the doors. He was thus starved to death, but, to save the sanctuary from pollution by a dead body, he was carried outside before he actually expired. Such

was the end of the victor of Plataea. After his death proofs were discovered among his papers that Themistocles was corresponding with him. But in order to follow the fortunes of the Athenian statesman, it is necessary to take a glance at the internal history of Athens.

The ancient rivalry between Themistocles and Aristeides had been for a time extinguished by the danger which threatened their common country during the Persian wars. Aristeides abandoned some of his former prejudices, and adopted many of the views of his rival. Not only had he co-operated with Themistocles in the fortification of Athens: not only did he show in the confederacy of Delos that he now fully recognised the importance of a strong navy for Athens; but he even favoured democratic changes in the constitution. We are told that he began the movement for curtailing the power of the Areopagus which was continued by Ephialtes, and that he advocated the concentration of the people of Attica in Athens, from which it resulted that the popular vote had great weight in public affairs.

Policy of Aristeides.

Nevertheless party spirit still ran high at Athens. Cimon and Alcmaeon were violent opponents of Themistocles, and of their party Aristeides was still the head. The popularity of Aristeides was never greater than at the present time; his constitutional changes were welcomed, and the people were grateful for his services in establishing the confederacy of Delos; and, moreover, had unbounded confidence in his honest and disinterested character. Themistocles had offended the Athenians by his ostentation and vanity. He was continually boasting of his services to the state; but, worse than all this, there were serious imputations on his honesty. Whilst, at the head of an Athenian squadron, he was sailing among the Greek islands for the ostensible purpose of executing justice, there is little room to doubt that he accepted large sums of money from the cities which he visited. Party spirit at length reached such a height that it was found necessary to resort to ostracism, and Themistocles was condemned to a temporary banishment (471 B.C.).*

Political parties at Athens.

* Some accounts seem to place the banishment of Themistocles later, about 461, after the constitutional reforms of 463; but it is probable that the earlier date, which agrees with the narrative of Thucydides, should be accepted.

He retired to Argos, where he was living when the treason of Pausanias was discovered, and the Spartans, finding that Themistocles had been in correspondence with him, called upon the Athenians to take up the matter. There was no proof that he had any share in the treason of Pausanias, and it is probable that he was not guilty in this matter: but it gave his political enemies a handle against him. Accordingly joint envoys were sent from Athens and Sparta to arrest him on the charge of treasonable correspondence with Persia (466 B.C.). Themistocles avoided the impending danger by flying from Argos to Corcyra. The Corcyraeans, however, not daring to shelter him, he passed over to the continent, and was forced to seek refuge at the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, his personal enemy, who happened to be absent from home. The forlorn condition of Themistocles moved the compassion of the wife of the Molossian king; she placed her child in his arms, and bade him seat himself on the hearth as a suppliant. When the king arrived, Themistocles told his story, and adjured him by the sacred laws of hospitality not to take vengeance upon a fallen foe. Admetus raised him from the hearth, refused to deliver him up to his pursuers, and only dismissed him on his own expressed desire to proceed to Persia. After many perils, Themistocles succeeded in reaching the coast of Asia. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, was now upon the throne of Persia, and to him Themistocles hastened to announce himself. The king was delighted at his arrival, and treated him with the greatest distinction. In a year's time, Themistocles, having gained a sufficient knowledge of the Persian language to be able to converse in it, entertained Artaxerxes with magnificent schemes for the subjugation of Greece. Artaxerxes loaded him with presents, gave him a Persian wife, and appointed Magnesia, a town not far from the Ionian coast, as his place of residence. After living there some time he died at the age of sixty-five, without having realised, or apparently attempted, any of those plans with which he had dazzled the Persian monarch. Rumour ascribed his death to poison, which he took of his own accord, from a consciousness of his inability to perform his promises; but this report, which was current in the time of Thucydides, is rejected by that historian.

Themistocles in exile.

Aristeides died about four years after the banishment of Themistocles. The common accounts of his poverty are probably exaggerated, and seem to have been founded on the public funeral, and on the donations made to his three children by the state. But whatever his property may have been, it is at least certain that he did not acquire or increase it by unlawful means; and no one has ventured to assail his well-earned title of *the Just.*

Death of Aristeides.

On the death of Aristeides, Cimon became the undisputed leader of the conservative party at Athens. Cimon had inherited the military genius of his father, and was the greatest commander of his time: he was generous and magnificent; and, notwithstanding his political views, of exceedingly popular manners. He employed the vast wealth acquired in his expeditions in adorning Athens and in winning the affections of his fellow-citizens by his liberality. It has been already mentioned that he succeeded Aristeides in the command of the allied fleet. His first exploits were the capture of Eion on the Strymon, and the reduction of the island of Scyros (470 B.C.).

Cimon at the head of affairs.

The year 466 was marked by a memorable action against the Persians. Cimon, at the head of 200 Athenian triremes, and 100 furnished by the allies, proceeded to the coast of Asia Minor. The Persians had assembled a large fleet and army at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. After defeating the fleet, Cimon landed his men and routed the Persian army, which was drawn up on the shore to protect the fleet.

Battle of Eurymedon, 466 B.C.

In the same year we find the first symptoms of discontent among the members of the Confederacy of Delos. Naxos, one of the confederate islands, and the largest of the Cyclades, renounced the league in 466 B.C., probably from a feeling of the growing oppressiveness of the Athenian headship. It was immediately invested by the confederate fleet, reduced, and made tributary to Athens. This was another step towards dominion gained by the Athenians, who were further helped by the imprudence of the allies. Many of the smaller states belonging to the confederacy, wearied with perpetual hostilities, commuted for a money payment the ships which they were bound to supply;

Secessions from the Confederacy of Delos.

and thus, by depriving themselves of a navy, lost the only means by which they could assert their independence.

The island of Thasos was the next member of the confederacy against which the Athenians directed their arms. After a siege of more than two years that island surrendered, its fortifications were razed, and it was condemned to pay tribute (463 B.C.).

Earthquake at Sparta, and revolt of Helots.

The expedition to Thasos was attended with a circumstance which first gives token of the coming hostilities between Sparta and Athens. At an early period of the blockade the Lacedaemonians were secretly applied to by the Thasians to make a diversion in their favour by invading Attica: and though they were still allied with Athens, they were inclined to comply with this request. Their intention was thwarted by a terrible calamity which befell themselves. In the year 464 B.C. their capital was visited by an earthquake which laid it in ruins and killed 20,000 of the citizens. The earthquake was immediately followed by a revolt of the Helots, who were always ready to avail themselves of the weakness of their tyrants. Being joined by the Messenians, they fortified themselves in Mount Ithōmé in Messenia. Hence this revolt is sometimes called the *Third Messenian War* (464 B.C.). After two or three years spent in a vain attempt to dislodge them from this position, the Lacedaemonians found themselves obliged to call in the assistance of their allies, and, among the rest, of the Athenians.

Cimon persuades the Athenians to help Sparta: political effect of this.

Their appeal was supported by Cimon, who was an admirer of the Spartans, remembering only that they had joined with Athens to repel the Persian invader, and forgetting the jealousy which had been growing ever since. In this spirit he urged the Athenians "not to let Greece be lamed of one foot." At length he persuaded them, and he was despatched to Laconia with a force of 4000 hoplites. As, however, Cimon did not succeed in dislodging the Helots from Ithōmé, the Lacedaemonians, probably from a consciousness of their own conduct in the affair of Thasos, suspected that the Athenians were playing them false, and abruptly dismissed them, saying that they had no longer any occasion for their services. This affront gave great offence at Athens, and annihilated for a time the political influence of Cimon. The

democratical party had from the first opposed the expedition; and it afforded them a great triumph to be able to point to Cimon returning not only unsuccessful but insulted. That party was now led by Pericles and Ephialtes. A sort of hereditary feud existed between Pericles and Cimon; for it was Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, who had impeached Miltiades, the father of Cimon. The character of Pericles was almost the reverse of Cimon's. Although the leader of the popular party, his manners were reserved. He appeared but little in society, and only in public upon great occasions. His mind had received the highest cultivation: he lived in intimacy with Anaxagoras and other eminent philosophers; he had studied particularly oratory as an indispensable instrument for swaying the public assemblies of Athens, and in eloquence he had no rival. It was not merely on questions of constitutional reform that he was opposed to Cimon. In his foreign policy he consistently resisted fellowship with Sparta, which he regarded as the representative of oligarchy and bent on overthrowing or undermining democratic institutions.

Democratic changes: ostracism of Cimon.

The leaders of the democracy seized the occasion presented by the ill success of Cimon to overthrow his power, and to strike a blow at the aristocratical party. In the constitutional changes which followed, Ephialtes was the chief mover, but he had, no doubt, the support of Pericles. His main object was to give the supreme power to the popular assembly, and with this view he deprived the Areopagus of most of its power, leaving it merely a criminal court, chiefly for cases of homicide, while its ancient control of the state and of the laws passed in part to the Council of Five Hundred (*βουλή*), but mainly to the popular assembly (*ἐκκλησία*), and most of its judicial functions to the jury-courts (*δικαστήρια*). Another step towards democracy was taken by applying the system of election by lot to the magistracies. Pericles carried on the principles of Ephialtes when he established the payment of jurors, in order to induce all citizens to take part in judicial work, and the provision of tickets for the theatre in order to increase the privileges and amusements of the poorer classes. It cannot be supposed that such fundamental changes were effected without violent party strife. The poet Aeschylus, in the tragedy of the *Eumenides*, in vain exerted all

the powers of his genius in support of the aristocratical party and of the tottering Areopagus; his exertions on this occasion resulted only in his own flight from Athens. The same fate attended Cimon himself; and he was condemned by ostracism (461 B.C.) to a ten years' banishment. Nay, party violence even went the length of assassination. Ephialtes, who had taken the lead in the attacks upon the Areopagus, fell beneath the dagger of a Boeotian, hired probably by political opponents, though not by Cimon, to despatch him.

It was from this period (461 B.C.) that the long administration of Pericles may be said to have begun. The effects of his accession to power soon became visible in the foreign relations of Athens. Pericles had succeeded to the political principles of Themistocles, and his aim was to render Athens the leading power of Greece. The Confederacy of Delos had already secured her maritime ascendency; Pericles directed his policy to the extension of her influence in continental Greece. She formed an alliance with the Thessalians, Argos, and Megăra. A hold upon Megara was of great importance, as it would enable the Athenians to arrest the progress of an invading army from Peloponnesus.

Policy of Pericles.

The Corinthians resented this alliance, and joined with Aegina against Athens. The Athenians defeated the combined fleets, and effected a landing in Aegina. The Corinthians tried to divert this attack by marching upon Megara; but although the able-bodied troops of Athens were absent, some in Aegina and others in Egypt, substitutes were found. Myronides levied an army from those who had been left in Athens because they were too young or too old for service, and with these boys and old men he beat off the Corinthians from Megara. No clearer proof could be given of the energy and resource possessed by the Athenians at this period of their history. It was not surprising, therefore, that they pressed forward to gain the dominion of Greece. The Spartans attempted to reassert themselves by sending an army to central Greece to help the Dorians against the Phocians, and were successful in this, and also in defeating at Tanagra, 457 B.C., an Athenian army which tried to cut off their homeward march: but the Spartans did not venture to invade Attica;

Growth of the Athenian power: wars with Corinth, Aegina, and Boeotia.

and the Athenians in the next year gained an important success in Boeotia. Under Myronides they defeated the Boeotians at Oenophŷta, and thus not only prevented a hostile combination of Boeotia and Sparta, but gained the command of Thebes, and of all the other Boeotian towns, by changing the government of each place to a democracy favourable to themselves. The siege of Aegina now ended (455), and that island, so long the maritime rival of Athens, was subdued and made tributary. From the gulf of Corinth to the straits of Thermopylae Athenian influence was now predominant.

Disasters in Egypt and Cyprus.

During these events the Athenians had continued to prosecute the war against Persia. In the year 460 B.C. they sent a powerful fleet to Egypt to assist Inărus, who had revolted against Persia; but this expedition proved a complete failure, for at the end of six years the revolt was put down by the Persians, and the Athenian fleet destroyed (455 B.C.). At a later period (449 B.C.) Cimon, who had been recalled from exile, sailed to Cyprus with a fleet of 200 ships. He undertook the siege of Citium in that island; but died during the progress of it, either from disease or from the effects of a wound.

Athenian colonies and cleruchies.

By this time nearly all the states which formed the Confederacy of Delos had gradually become, instead of the active allies of Athens, her disarmed and passive tributaries. Even the custody of the fund had been transferred from Delos to Athens. The purpose for which the confederacy had been originally organised disappeared with the Persian peace; yet what may now be called Imperial Athens continued, for her own ends, to exercise her prerogatives as head of the league. The tributary states, formerly allies but now dependencies of Athens, included all the coast towns of Asia Minor and all the islands of the Aegean except Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Thera, and Melos. Colonization, for which the genius and inclination of the Athenians had always been suited, was one of the methods adopted by Pericles to extend and confirm the empire of Athens. The settlements made under his auspices were of two kinds, *Cleruchies*, and regular colonies. The former mode was exclusively Athenian. It consisted in the allotment of land in conquered or subject countries to certain bodies of Athenians, who continued to retain all their original

rights of citizenship. They thus in some degree resembled the Roman colonists, being planted in the midst of the native population, so that they could watch them and quell any attempt at revolt. Such a form of emigration was popular at Athens, because it gave the double advantage of occupying lands already cultivated, and pursuing their civic rights. The earliest instance which we find of it is in the year 506 B.C., when 4000 Athenians entered upon the domains of the Chalcidian knights (see p. 38). But it was under Pericles that this system was most extensively adopted. During his administration 1000 Athenian citizens were settled in the Thracian Chersonese, 500 in Naxos, and 250 in Andros. The islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, as well as a large tract in the north of Euboea, were also completely occupied by Athenian proprietors. The most important colonies settled by Pericles were those of Thurii and Amphipolis. Since the destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniates, in 509 B.C., the former inhabitants had lived dispersed in the adjoining territory along the gulf of Tarentum. A few years later, in 443 B.C., Pericles sent out a colony to found Thurii, near the site of the ancient Sybaris. The colony of Amphipolis was founded some years later (437 B.C.), under the conduct of Hagnon. Her alliances, as we have seen, had likewise been extended in continental Greece, where they embraced Megara, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, together with Troezen and Achaia in Peloponnesus. Her navy was supreme, either for war or for commerce, on all the Greek coasts, and the city was at this very time, through the energy of Pericles, secured in its connexion with the sea by the building of the "long walls" down to the harbour of Peiraeus. Such was the position of Athens in the year 450 B.C., the period of her greatest power and prosperity. But the heavy losses in Cyprus, following upon the yet greater disaster in Egypt, lessened her effective strength. From this time her empire began to decline; whilst Sparta, and other watchful and jealous enemies, stood ever ready to strike a blow.

Not long afterwards (447 B.C.) a revolution in Boeotia deprived Athens of her ascendency in that country. With an overweening contempt of their enemies, a small band of 1000 Athenian hoplites, chiefly composed of youthful volunteers belonging to the best Athenian families, together with a few auxiliaries, marched under

Athenian reverses.

the command of Tolmĭdes, to put down the revolt, against the advice of Pericles, who adjured them to wait and collect a larger force. The result was disastrous. Tolmides was defeated and slain near Coronēa; a large number of the hoplites also fell in the engagement, whilst a still larger number were taken prisoners. In order to recover these prisoners, Athens agreed to evacuate Boeotia, and to permit the re-establishment of the aristocracies which she had formerly overthrown. But the Athenian reverses did not end here. The expulsion of the partisans of Athens from the government of Phocis and Locris, and the revolt of Euboea and Megara, were announced in quick succession. Pleistoanax, the young king of Sparta, actually penetrated, with an army of Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesian allies, as far as the neighbourhood of Eleusis; and the capital itself, it is said, was saved only by Pericles having bribed the Spartan king. Pericles reconquered Euboea; but this was the only possession which the Athenians succeeded in recovering. Their power, after so many losses, was not strong enough to hold their land empire; and they were therefore induced to conclude, at the beginning of 445 B.C., a Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta and her allies, by which they consented to abandon all the acquisitions which they had made in Peloponnesus, and to leave Megara to be included among the Peloponnesian allies of Sparta. This peace was negotiated with Sparta by Callias, who afterwards proceeded to Susa and concluded a peace with Persia also. Long afterwards the Athenians asserted that by this treaty, which was wrongly called the "Peace of Cimon," they had extorted terms which bound the Persian ships never to enter the sea of Marmora or the Aegean. But it is clear that this was an invention. The war was stopped by agreement on both sides, but no stipulations were made for the future.

Battle of Coronea, 447 B.C.

Thirty Years' Truce, 445 B.C.

From the Thirty Years' Truce to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, few political events of any importance occurred. Cimon had been succeeded in the leadership of the Conservative party by Thucydides, son of Melesias (to be distinguished carefully from the great historian Thucydides, son of Olŏrus); and the conservative policy was, as before, friendship with Sparta

Administration of Pericles.

and more moderate views of the Athenian sway over the allies. But the aims of Sparta were too much at variance with those of Athens to make a real friendship possible, and the Athenian people had no mind to recede from their supremacy over the islands. Now that war with Persia was over, it must be an empire or nothing at all. Thucydides, who was, moreover, a man of no great capacity, failed to make any stand against Pericles, and was ostracised in 443. During these fourteen years, therefore (445–431 B.C.), Pericles continued to direct affairs. His views were magnificent. Athens was to become the capital of Greece, and the centre of art and refinement. In appearance the city was to be rendered worthy of the high position to which she aspired, by the beauty and splendour of her public buildings, by her works of art in sculpture, architecture, and painting, and by the pomp of her religious festivals. All these objects Athens was enabled to attain in an incredibly short space of time, through the genius and energy of her citizens and the vast resources at her command. No state has ever exhibited so much intellectual activity and so great a progress in art as was displayed by Athens in the period which elapsed between the Thirty Years' Truce and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. She was the seat and centre of Greek literature. The three great tragic poets of Greece were natives of Attica. Aeschylus, the earliest of the three, had recently died in Sicily; but Sophocles was now at the full height of his reputation, and Euripides was proving himself a worthy rival. Aristophanes, the greatest of the Greek comic poets, was also born in Attica, and exhibited plays soon after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Herodotus, the Father of History, though a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, lived some time at Athens, and accompanied a colony which the Athenians sent to Thurii in Italy. Thucydides, the greatest of Greek historians, was an Athenian, and was a young man at this time.

Discontent of subject allies.

Among the subjects and allies united with Athens by the Confederacy of Delos, her sway was borne with growing discontent. One of the chief causes of this dissatisfaction was the amount of the tribute exacted by the Athenians, as well as their application of the proceeds. In the time of Aristeides and Cimon, when an active

war was carried on against the Persians, the sum annually collected amounted to 460 talents. In the time of Pericles, although that war had been brought to a close, the tribute had nevertheless increased to the annual sum of 600 talents. Another grievance was that the subject allies had been deprived of much of their jurisdiction, and many of their lawsuits were transferred to Athens, as, for instance, the trial of offences involving capital punishment. Besides all these causes of complaint, the allies had often to endure the oppressions and exactions of Athenian officers, as well as of the rich and powerful Athenian citizens settled among them.

Revolt and reduction of Samos.

In 440 B.C. Samos, one of the three independent allies already mentioned, revolted from Athens; but even this island was no match for the Athenian power. Pericles, who sailed against the Samians in person, defeated their fleet in several engagements, and forced the city to capitulate. The Samians were compelled to raze their fortifications, to surrender their fleet, to give hostages for their future conduct, and to pay the expenses of the war.

PERICLES (from the bust in the British Museum).

CHAPTER X.

CAUSES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, AND ITS BEGINNING.

THE triumphs and the power of Athens were regarded with fear and jealousy by other Greek states. In particular, Corinth bore a grudge since her defeat in the war about Aegina (see p. 86) which had left the Corinthian commerce dependent on the will of the Athenians; and Sparta was galled by the feeling that since the growth of the Athenian maritime empire she herself was reduced to a place of subordinate importance in Greece. Further materials for dissension were provided by the discontent of the subject allies, and by the ill-will which Thebes always bore towards Athens. Lastly, the Megarians were incensed because Athens had excluded them from her markets, nominally on account of disputes about encroachment on frontier lands and

Origin of the Peloponnesian War.

the harbouring of fugitive slaves, but really in retaliation of the revolt of Megara from the Athenian alliance in 445 B.C.

The immediate cause for war was found in the quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra. On the coast of Illyria, near the site of the modern Durazzo, the Corcyraeans had founded the city of Epidamnus. Corcyra (now Corfu) was itself a colony of Corinth; and though long at enmity with its mother country, was forced, according to the custom of the Greeks in such matters, to select the founder of Epidamnus from the Corinthians. Accordingly Corinth became the metropolis of Epidamnus as well as of Corcyra. At the time of which we speak, the Epidamnians, being hard pressed by the Illyrians, led by some oligarchical exiles of their own city, applied to Corcyra for assistance, which the Corcyraeans refused. The Epidamnians then obtained help from the Corinthians. The Corcyraeans, highly resenting this interference, attacked the Corinthian fleet between Cape Actium and Leucimmé, the promontory of Corcyra, and gained a signal victory (434 B.C.).

Deeply humbled by this defeat, the Corinthians spent two years in active preparations for retrieving it. The Corcyraeans, who had not enrolled themselves either in the Lacedaemonian or Athenian alliance, and therefore stood alone, were greatly alarmed at these preparations. They now resolved to remedy this deficiency; and as Corinth belonged to the Lacedaemonian alliance, the Corcyraeans had no option, and were obliged to apply to Athens. The majority of the Athenians were ready to comply with their request; but in order to avoid an open infringement of the Thirty Years' Truce, it was resolved to conclude only a defensive alliance with Corcyra: that is, to defend the Corcyraeans in case their territories were actually invaded by the Corinthians, but beyond that not to lend them any active assistance. A small Athenian squadron of only 10 triremes was despatched to Corcyra. Soon after their arrival a battle ensued off the islands of Sybŏta, on the coast of Epirus, between the Corinthian and Corcyraean fleets. After a hard-fought day, victory finally declared in favour of the Corinthians. The Athenians now abandoned their neutrality, and did all in their power to save the flying Corcyraeans from their pursuers. This action took place early in the morning; and the Corinthians

Athenian alliance with Corcyra.

prepared to renew the attack in the afternoon, when they saw in the distance 20 Athenian vessels, which they believed to be the advanced guard of a still larger fleet. They accordingly sailed away to the coast of Epirus; but finding that the Athenians did not mean to undertake offensive operations against them, they departed homewards with their whole fleet. These events took place in the year 432 B.C.

The Corinthians were naturally incensed at the conduct of Athens; and it is not surprising that they should have watched for an opportunity of revenge. This was soon afforded them by the enmity of the Macedonian prince Perdiccas towards the Athenians. He incited her tributaries upon the coast of Macedonia to revolt, including Potidaea, a town seated on the isthmus of Pallené. Potidaea, though now a tributary of Athens, was originally a colony of the Corinthians, and received from them certain annual magistrates. The Corinthians gave them the same advice as Perdiccas, and even sent 2000 men under Aristeus to help them, whereupon the Potidaeans openly raised the standard of revolt (432 B.C.). A powerful Athenian armament was despatched to the coast of Macedonia and laid siege to Potidaea.

Revolt of Potidaea.

Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, urged on all sides by the complaints of their allies against Athens, summoned a general meeting of the Peloponnesian confederacy at Sparta. The Corinthians, whose commercial jealousy was a main cause of the war, took the chief part in the debate; but other members of the confederacy had also grievances to allege against Athens. Foremost among these were the Megarians, who complained that their commerce had been ruined by the decree of the Athenians which excluded them from Athenian ports. The Lacedaemonians decided upon war unless Athens would humble herself; and the congress passed a resolution to the same effect, thus binding the whole Peloponnesian confederacy to the same policy.

Congress of Peloponnesian states, 432 B.C.

Pericles, notwithstanding his influence and power, had many enemies in Athens, who thought that the dislike of the Athenians to war would make this a good opportunity for attacking him. Pericles, after divorcing a wife with whom he had lived unhappily, took his mistress Aspasia to his house, and dwelt with her till his death.

Attacks upon Pericles.

She was distinguished not only for her beauty, but also for her learning and accomplishments. Her friendship with Anaxagoras, the celebrated Ionic philosopher, was made a handle for wounding Pericles. The religion of Greece, notwithstanding its freedom, was capable of producing bigots: and even at Athens it was not always safe to question or expose absurdities in the popular mythology. Anaxagoras was indicted for impiety. Aspasia was included in the same charge, and dragged before the courts of justice. Anaxagoras prudently fled from Athens, and thus probably avoided a fate which a similar accusation afterwards brought upon Socrates. Pericles himself pleaded the cause of Aspasia. He was indeed indirectly implicated in the indictment; but he felt no concern except for Aspasia, and on this occasion the proud and reserved statesman, whom the most violent storms of the assembly could not deprive of his self-possession, was for once seen to shed tears. His appeal to the jury was successful, but another trial still awaited him. An indictment was preferred against his friend, the great sculptor Pheidias, for embezzlement of the gold intended to adorn the celebrated ivory statue of Athena; and according to some, Pericles himself was included in the charge of peculation. Whether Pericles was ever actually tried on this accusation is uncertain; but at all events, if he was, there can be no doubt that he was honourably acquitted. The gold employed in the statue had been fixed in such a manner that it could be detached and weighed, and Pericles challenged his accusers to the proof. But Pheidias did not escape so fortunately. There were other circumstances which rendered him unpopular, and amongst them the fact that he had introduced portraits both of himself and Pericles in the sculptures which adorned the frieze of the Parthenon. Pheidias died in prison before the day of trial (432 B.C.).

It is a remarkable proof of the extent to which Pericles influenced his countrymen by his speeches that, even in this time of unpopularity, he persuaded them to refuse the demands of Sparta. These were, that the grievances of Megara should be redressed, and that the subject allies of Athens, including Aegina and Potidaea, should be independent and free to secede if they chose. Pericles, who saw clearly that nothing but the complete dissolution of the Athenian empire would satisfy the

jealousy of her rivals, induced his countrymen to reject the terms offered by the Spartan envoys.

Before any actual declaration of war, hostilities were begun in the spring of 431 B.C. by a treacherous attack of the Thebans upon Plataea. Though Boeotians by descent, the Plataeans did not belong to the Boeotian league, but had long been in alliance with the Athenians, and were consequently regarded with hatred by the Thebans. A small faction of oligarchs in Plataea, who were in treasonable correspondence with Thebes, secretly admitted a body of 300 Thebans into the town at night; but the attempt proved a failure; the citizens flew to arms, and in the morning all the Thebans were either slain or taken prisoners.

Theban attack on Plataea, 431 B.C.

War was now fairly kindled. All Greece looked on in suspense as its two leading cities were about to engage in a strife of which no man could foresee the end. It was, as has been seen, a war of principles and races. Athens was a champion of democracy, Sparta of aristocracy; Athens represented the Ionic tribes, Sparta the Dorian; the former were fond of novelty, the latter were conservative and stationary; Athens had the command of the sea, Sparta was stronger upon land. On the side of Sparta was ranged the whole of Peloponnesus, except Argos and Achaia (who were neutral), the Megarians on the isthmus, the Boeotians, Phocians, and Opuntian Locrians in central Greece, and on the west coast the Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians, as being colonies of Corinth. The allies of Athens, with the exception of the Thessalians, Acarnanians, Messenians at Naupactus, and Plataeans, were all insular, and consisted chiefly of the Chians, Lesbians, Corcyraeans, and Zacynthians, and shortly afterwards of the Cephallenians. To these must be added her tributary towns on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, together with all the islands north of Crete, except Melos and Thera. In land forces the Peloponnesians were by far the stronger; but on the sea the Athenians had no less superiority, and they had great resources of wealth.

Forces on either side.

The Peloponnesians began the war in June, 431 B.C., by an invasion of Attica, with a large army, under the command of the Spartan king Archidāmus. Pericles had with some difficulty persuaded the rural inhabitants of Attica to abandon their

houses, and secure themselves and their movable property within the walls of Athens. Archidamus advanced as far as Acharnae, a flourishing Attic borough situated only about seven miles from Athens. Here he encamped on a rising ground within sight of the metropolis, and began to lay waste the country around, destroying the crops and homesteads, and cutting down the olive trees. He expected by that means to provoke the Athenians to battle; but he was disappointed. Notwithstanding the murmurs of the citizens Pericles remained firm, and steadily refused to venture an engagement in the open field. The Peloponnesians retired from Attica after still further ravaging the country; and the Athenians retaliated by making descents with their navy upon various parts of the coasts of Peloponnesus, and ravaging the territory of Megara.

Invasion of Attica.

Such were the results of the first campaign. From the method in which the war was conducted it had become evident that it would prove of long duration; and the Athenians now proceeded to provide for this contingency. It was agreed that a reserve fund of 1000 talents should be set apart, which was not to be touched in any other case than an attack upon Athens by sea. Any citizen who proposed to make a different use of the fund incurred thereby the punishment of death. With the same view it was resolved to reserve every year 100 of their best triremes, fully manned and equipped.

Towards the winter Pericles delivered, from a platform erected in the Cerameicus, a funeral oration over those who had fallen in the war. This speech, or at all events the substance of it, has been preserved by Thucydides, who may possibly have heard it pronounced. It is memorable for its eloquence and patriotism, and gives a valuable sketch of Athenian manners and of the Athenian constitution.

In the following year (430 B.C.) the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, renewed their invasion of Attica. At the same time the Athenians were attacked by a more formidable enemy. The plague broke out in the crowded city. This terrible disorder, which was supposed to have originated in Aethiopia, had already desolated Asia and many of the countries around the Mediterranean. A great proportion of

Second invasion of Attica.

Plague of Athens.

those who were seized died in from seven to nine days. It frequently attacked the mental faculties, and many of those who recovered from it had entirely lost their memory. Despair began to take possession of the Athenians. Some suspected that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells; others attributed the pestilence to the anger of Apollo. A dreadful state of moral dissolution followed. The sick were neglected; the dead were unburied; whilst a great part of the population who had hitherto escaped the disorder, expecting soon to be attacked in turn, abandoned themselves to all manner of excess and crime. The numbers carried off by the pestilence can hardly be estimated at less than a fourth of the whole population.

Oppressed at once by war and pestilence, their lands desolated, their homes filled with mourning, it is not surprising that the Athenians were seized with rage and despair, or that they vented their anger on Pericles, whom they deemed the author of their misfortunes. But that statesman still adhered to his plans with unshaken firmness. Though the Lacedaemonians were in Attica, though the plague had already seized on Athens, he was vigorously pushing his schemes of offensive operations. A foreign expedition might not only divert the popular mind, but would prove beneficial by relieving the crowded city of part of its population; and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, of which Pericles himself took the command, and which committed devastations upon various parts of the Peloponnesian coast. But, upon returning from this expedition, Pericles found the public feeling more exasperated than before. Envoys had even been despatched to Sparta to sue for peace, but had been dismissed without a hearing; a disappointment which had rendered the populace still more furious. Pericles succeeded in persuading his countrymen to prosecute the war with vigour, but his unpopularity still remained. His political enemies, of whom Cleon was the chief, took advantage of this state of the public mind to bring against him a charge of peculation. The main object of this accusation was to incapacitate him for the office of Strategus.* He was brought before the

Popular feeling against the policy of Pericles.

* The Strategi, or "Generals," were ten in number, elected annually. They held the most important offices of state, combining the functions of war minister and foreign minister, having the superintendence of all warlike preparations, the

law courts on this charge, and sentenced to pay a fine; soon after this came a turn of popular feeling in his favour and against peace: he was re-elected Strategus, and regained his old influence.

But he was not destined long to enjoy this return of popularity. His life was now closing in, and its end was clouded by a long train of domestic misfortunes. The epidemic deprived him not only of many friends, but of several near relations, amongst whom were his sister and his two legitimate sons, Xanthippus and Parălus. The death of Paralus was a severe blow to him. During the funeral ceremonies, as he placed a garland on the body of this his favourite son, he was completely overpowered by his feelings and wept aloud. He was now left without an heir. By Aspasia, however, he had an illegitimate son who bore his own name. This son the Athenians now legitimised, wishing to give what comfort they could to their great leader.

After this period it was with difficulty that Pericles was persuaded by his friends to take any active part in public affairs; nor did he survive more than a twelve-month. An attack of the plague was succeeded by a low fever, which undermined his strength. As he lay apparently unconscious on his death-bed, the friends who stood around it were engaged in recalling his exploits. The dying man interrupted them. "What you praise in me," he said, "is partly the result of good fortune, and at all events common to me with many other commanders: What I chiefly pride myself upon you have not noticed—no Athenian ever wore mourning through me." **Death of Pericles, 429 B.C.**

The influence which Pericles exercised for so long a period over a keen-witted but fickle people like the Athenians, is a great proof of his intellectual superiority. This hold on the public affection is to be attributed partly to his great eloquence and partly to the confidence which, in spite of intervals of dislike, the people really felt in his strong and consistent policy. Cicero regards him as the first example of an almost perfect orator, at once delighting the Athenians with his style, and overpowering them by the force of his arguments. He seems, indeed, to have

control of finances for that purpose, and the power of convening the popular assembly and bringing before it matters relating to foreign states. They might go out in command of armies in the field, but did not necessarily do so.

singularly combined the power of persuasion with that more rapid and abrupt style of oratory which takes an audience by storm and defies all resistance. He had brought the Athenian democracy to its completest form, and aimed at maintaining its supremacy in Greece. And though the war in which he left her involved utterly deprived her of this supremacy, it must be recollected, first, that the war probably could not have been safely avoided, and secondly, that the fatal mistakes which led to her ruin were committed after the death of Pericles and in defiance of the advice which he had given. If his imperial policy failed, he was brilliantly successful in his determination to make her supreme in literature and art. What outward form he gave to Athens and what place the age of Pericles holds in Greek literature will be noticed in later chapters.

Victories of Phormio: Siege of Plataea.

In the third year of the war (429 B.C.) by sea the Athenian admiral, Phormio, won brilliant victories in the Corinthian gulf over the Lacedaemonian fleet which had gathered there to attempt the reduction of the Acarnanians. On land the chief scene of the war was in Boeotia. Archidamus directed his whole force against the ill-fated town of Plataea. The siege that ensued is one of the most memorable in the annals of Grecian warfare. Plataea was but a small city; most of its inhabitants had left it, and its garrison consisted of only 400 citizens and 80 Athenians, together with 110 women to manage their household affairs. Yet this small force set at defiance the whole army of the Peloponnesians. The besiegers tried to enter the town by building a mound up to the level of the walls; but the Plataeans foiled them by raising their walls, by mining so as to withdraw the earth from the mound, and finally by building an interior crescent-shaped wall at the point threatened by the mound. The Spartans then turned the siege into a blockade, and built double walls of circumvallation with towers at intervals and a double ditch. Thus the Plataeans endured a blockade of two years, during which the Athenians attempted nothing for their relief. In the second year about half the garrison effected their escape, crossing the enemies' walls by means of scaling ladders on a dark and stormy night. The rest were obliged to surrender shortly afterwards (427 B.C.). These 200 Plataeans and 25 Athenians were now arraigned

before five judges sent from Sparta. Their indictment was framed in a way which precluded the possibility of escape. They were simply asked "Whether, during the present war, they had rendered any assistance to the Lacedaemonians and their allies?" Each man was called up separately before the judgment-seat, and the same question having been put to him and of course answered in the negative, he was immediately led away to execution. The town of Plataea was transferred to the Thebans, who a few months afterwards levelled all the private buildings to the ground. Thus was Plataea blotted out from the map of Greece (427 B.C.). In recording the fall of Plataea we have anticipated the order of events.

Revolt and capitulation of Mitylene.

The most important event in the fourth year of the war (428 B.C.) was the revolt of Mitylēné, the capital of Lesbos, and of the greater part of that island. The Athenians sent out a fleet which blockaded Mitylene both by sea and land. The Peloponnesians promised their assistance; but from various causes their fleet was unable to reach the place. Meanwhile the provisions of the town were exhausted, and it was therefore resolved, as a last expedient, to make a sally. With this view even the men of the lower classes were armed with the full armour of the hoplites. But this produced a very different result from what had been intended. The great mass of the Mityleneans regarded their own oligarchical government with suspicion, and now threatened that they would surrender the city to the Athenians. In this emergency the Mitylenean government perceived that their only chance of safety lay in anticipating the people. They accordingly opened negotiations with Paches, the Athenian commander, and a capitulation was agreed upon by which the city was to be surrendered and the fate of its inhabitants to be decided by the Athenian Assembly.

Debates at Athens on the fate of Mitylene.

At Athens the disposal of the prisoners caused great debate. It was on this occasion that the leather-seller Cleon first comes prominently forward in Athenian affairs. If we may trust the picture drawn by the comic poet Aristophanes, Cleon was a perfect model of a low-born demagogue; a noisy brawler, insolent in his gestures, corrupt and venal in his principles. Much allowance must no doubt be made for comic licence and

exaggeration in this portrait, but even a caricature must have some grounds of truth for its basis. It was this man who took the lead in the debate respecting the disposal of the Mityleneans, and made the horrible proposal to put to death the *whole* male population of Mitylene of military age, and to sell the women and children into slavery. This motion he succeeded in carrying, and a trireme was immediately despatched to Mitylene, conveying orders to Paches to carry the decree into execution. This barbarous resolution made no difference between the innocent and the guilty; and on the morrow so general a feeling prevailed of its injustice and inhumanity, that the magistrates acceded to the prayer of the Mitylenean envoys and called a fresh assembly. Notwithstanding the violent opposition of Cleon, the majority of the assembly reversed their former decree and resolved that the Mityleneans already in custody should be put upon their trial, but that the remainder of the population should be spared. A second trireme was immediately despatched to Mitylene, with orders to Paches to arrest the execution. The utmost speed was necessary, since the former trireme had a start of four and twenty hours. The oarsmen were allowed by turns only short intervals of rest, and took their food, consisting of barley-meal steeped in wine and oil, as they sat at the oar. Happily the weather proved favourable; and the crew, who had been promised large rewards in case they arrived in time, exerted themselves to deliver the reprieve, whilst the crew of the preceding vessel had conveyed the order for execution slowly and reluctantly. Yet even so the countermand came only just in time. The decree was already in the hands of Paches, who was taking measures for its execution. Even now the punishment was heavy. Though the mass of the people was spared, a thousand of their leaders were put to death: the fortifications of Mitylene were razed, and her fleet delivered up to the Athenians.

The fate of the Plataeans and Mityleneans affords a painful illustration of the manners of the age; but these horrors were surpassed in Corcyra. A struggle took place in this island between the aristocratical and democratical parties. The people at length obtained the mastery, and took extreme vengeance on their opponents. The most sacred sanctuaries afforded no protection; the nearest ties of blood and kindred were sacrificed to civil hatred. In one

Party strife at Corcyra.

case a father slew even his own son. The scenes of horror lasted for seven days.

The seventh year of the war (425 B.C.) was marked by an

important event. An Athenian fleet was detained by bad weather at Pylos in Messenia, on the modern bay of Navarino. Demosthenes, an active Athenian officer, who was on board the fleet, thought it a good place on which to establish some of the Messenians from Naupactus, since it was a strong position, from which they might annoy the Lacedaemonians, and excite revolt among their Helot kinsmen. As the bad weather continued for some time, the soldiers on board were occupied, under the directions of Demosthenes, in constructing a sort of rude fortification.

Pylos occupied by the Athenians.

The nature of the ground was favourable for the work, and in five or six days a wall was thrown up sufficient for the purposes of defence. Demosthenes undertook to garrison the place; and five ships and 200 hoplites were left behind with him.

This insult to the Lacedaemonian territory caused alarm and indignation at Sparta. The Peloponnesian fleet was ordered to Pylos; and the Lacedaemonian commander occupied the small uninhabited and densely wooded island of Sphacteria, which, with the exception of two narrow channels on the north and south, almost blocked up the entrance of the bay.* Between the island and the mainland was a spacious basin, in which the fleet took up its station. The Lacedaemonians lost no time in attacking the fortress, but were unable to effect a landing.

Attacks on the Athenian fort at Pylos.

Whilst they were preparing for another assault, they were surprised by the appearance of the Athenian fleet. They had neglected to secure the entrances into the bay; and, when the Athenian ships came sailing through both the undefended channels, many of their triremes were still moored, and part of their crews ashore. The battle which ensued was desperate. Both sides fought with extraordinary valour; but victory at length declared for the Athenians. Five Peloponnesian ships were captured; the rest were saved only by running them ashore, where they were protected by the Lacedaemonian army.

The Athenians, thus masters of the sea, were able to blockade the island of Sphacteria, in which the flower of the Lacedaemonian army was shut up, many of them Spartans of rank and importance. In so grave an emergency messengers were sent to Sparta for advice. The Ephors themselves repaired to the spot; and, seeing no other means of escape, obtained an armistice for the purpose of negotiating a peace at Athens. But the Athenians, at the instigation of Cleon, made the most extravagant demands, and hostilities were accordingly resumed. They were not, however, attended with any decisive result. The blockade of Sphacteria began to grow tedious and harassing. The soldiers in the island continually received supplies of provisions either from swimmers, who towed skins filled with linseed and poppy-seed mixed with honey, or from Helots, who, induced

Spartans blockaded by the Athenian fleet.

* See note at the end of the book, p. 254.

by the promise of large rewards, eluded the blockading squadron during dark and stormy nights, and landed their cargoes. The summer was fast wearing away, and the storms of winter might necessitate the raising of the blockade altogether. Under these circumstances, Demosthenes began to contemplate a descent upon the island; with which view he sent a message to Athens to ask for reinforcements, and to set forth the difficulties of the blockade.

These tidings were distasteful to the Athenians, who had looked upon Sphacteria as an easy prey. They began to regret having let slip the opportunity for making a peace, and to vent their displeasure upon Cleon, their adviser on that occasion. But Cleon laid the blame on the Strategi. His political opponent, Nicias, was then one of those officers, a man of quiet disposition and moderate abilities, but honest and incorruptible. Cleon now singled him out for his vituperation, and, pointing at him with his finger, exclaimed—"It would be easy enough to take the island if our generals were *men*. If *I* were General, I would do it at once!" The opposite party seized upon this remark, and he was answered by cries that he should go himself and try. Nicias, thinking probably to catch his opponent in his own trap, seconded the voice of the assembly by offering to place at his disposal whatever force he might deem necessary. Cleon at first endeavoured to avoid the dangerous honour thus thrust upon him. But the more he drew back the louder were the assembly in calling upon him to accept the office; and as Nicias seriously repeated his proposition, he adopted with a good grace what there was no longer any possibility of evading, and asserted that he would take Sphacteria within twenty days, and either kill all the Lacedaemonians upon it, or bring them prisoners to Athens.

Scene in the Athenian assembly.

Never did general set out upon an enterprise under circumstances more singular; but, what was still more extraordinary, fortune enabled him to make his promise good. In fact, as we have seen, Demosthenes had already resolved on attacking the island; and when Cleon arrived at Pylos he found everything prepared for the assault. Accident favoured the enterprise. A fire kindled by some Athenian sailors, who had landed for the purpose of cooking their dinner, caught and destroyed the woods with which the

Cleon goes to Pylos.

island was overgrown, and thus deprived the Lacedaemonians of one of their chief defences. Nevertheless such was the awe inspired by the reputation of the Spartan arms, that Demosthenes considered it necessary to land about 10,000 soldiers of different descriptions, although the Lacedaemonian force consisted of only about 420 men. But this small force for a long while kept their assailants at bay; till some Messenians, stealing round by the sea-shore, over crags and cliffs which the Lacedaemonians had deemed impracticable, suddenly appeared on the high ground which overhung their rear. They now began to give way, and would soon have been all slain; but Cleon and Demosthenes, being anxious to carry them prisoners to Athens, sent a herald to summon them to surrender. The Spartans, in token of compliance, dropped their shields, and waved their hands above their heads. They requested, however, permission to communicate with their countrymen on the mainland; who, after two or three communications, sent them a final message—"to take counsel for themselves, but to do nothing disgraceful." The survivors then surrendered. They were 292 in number, 120 of whom were Spartans belonging to families of high position in the state. By this surrender the prestige of the Spartan arms was in a great degree destroyed. The Spartans were not, indeed, deemed invincible; but their previous feats, especially at Thermopylae, had inspired the notion that they would rather die than yield; an opinion which could now no longer be entertained.

Surrender of the Spartans in this island.

Cleon had thus performed his promise. On the day after the victory he and Demosthenes started with the prisoners for Athens, where they arrived within 20 days from the time of Cleon's departure. It was an important success for the Athenians. The prisoners would serve not only as a hostage against future invasions, but al o as a means for extorting advantageous conditions whenever a peace should be concluded. The victory, moreover, enabled the Athenians to place Pylus in a better posture of defence, and, by garrisoning it with Messenians from Naupactus, to create a stronghold whence Laconia might be overrun and ravaged at pleasure. The Lacedaemonians themselves were so sensible of these dangers, that they sent repeated messages to Athens to propose a peace, but without success.

The eighth year of the war (424 B.C.) opened with brilliant prospects for the Athenians. Elated by their good fortune, they aimed at nothing less than the recovery of all the possessions which they had held before the Thirty Years' Truce. For this purpose they planned an expedition against Boeotia. But their luck began to turn. It had been planned that Demosthenes should march from the Corinthian Gulf and join Hippocrates, who commanded the main Athenian army in Boeotia. But this combination fell through, and Hippocrates was defeated by the Boeotians with great loss at the battle of Delium, the greatest and most decisive engagement fought during the first period of the war. An interesting feature of the battle is that both Socrates and his pupil Alcibiades were engaged in it, the former among the hoplites, the latter in the cavalry. Socrates distinguished himself by his bravery, and was one of those who, instead of throwing down their arms, kept together in a compact body, and repulsed the attacks of the pursuing horse. Alcibiades stood by him in the retreat.

Battle of Delium.

This disastrous battle was speedily followed by the overthrow of the Athenian empire in Thrace. At the request of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and of the Chalcidian towns, who had sued for help against the Athenians, Brasidas was sent by the Lacedaemonian government into Macedonia, at the head of a small body of troops. On his arrival in Macedonia he proclaimed that he was come to deliver the Greek cities from the tyrannous yoke of Athens. His bravery, his conciliatory manner, and his moderation, soon won over the allies of Athens in that quarter. Acanthus and Stageirus hastened to open their gates to him; and early in the ensuing winter, by means of forced marches, he suddenly appeared before the important Athenian colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon. The Athenian party in the town summoned to their assistance Thucydides, the historian, who was then general in those parts. Thucydides hastened with seven ships from Thasos, and succeeded in securing Eion at the mouth of the Strymon; but Amphipolis, which lay a little higher up the river, had already surrendered to Brasidas. For his want of vigilance on this occasion, Thucydides was, on the motion of Cleon, sentenced to banishment,

Successes of Brasidas in Thrace.

and spent the following twenty years of his life in exile. Torōné, Sciōné, and other towns also revolted from Athens.

In the following year (422 B.C.) Cleon was sent to Macedonia to recover the Athenian dependencies, and especially Amphipolis. Inexperienced in war, and having now nó Demosthenes to direct his movements, Cleon was thrown completely off his guard by a very ordinary stratagem on the part of Brasidas, who contrived to conceal all evidence of activity. Cleon suffered his troops to fall into disorder, till he was suddenly surprised by the news that Brasidas was preparing for a sally. Cleon at once resolved to retreat. But he conducted his retreat in the most disorderly manner. His left wing had already filed off, and his centre with straggling ranks was in the act of following, when Brasidas ordered the gates of the town to be flung open, and, rushing out at the head of only 150 chosen soldiers, charged the retreating columns in flank. They were immediately routed; but Brasidas received a mortal wound and was carried off the field. Cleon fled on the approach of the enemy, but was pursued and slain by a Thracian peltast. In spite, however, of the flight of their general, the right wing maintained their ground for a considerable time, till some cavalry and peltasts issuing from Amphipolis attacked them in flank and routed them. Only half of the Athenian forces reached Eion in safety. Brasidas was carried into Amphipolis, and lived long enough to receive the tidings of his victory. He was buried within the walls with great military pomp in the centre of the market-place; he was proclaimed founder of the town (*οἰκιστής*); and was worshipped as a hero with annual games and sacrifices.

By the death of Brasidas and Cleon the two chief opponents of peace were removed. The Athenian Nicias, and the Spartan king Pleistoanax, zealously forwarded the negotiations, and in the spring of the year B.C. 421 a peace for 50 years, commonly called the PEACE OF NICIAS, was concluded on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and places captured during the war.

The Peace of Nicias.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—SECOND PERIOD, FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY, 421–413 B.C.

THE Peace of Nicias broke off the main struggle between Sparta and Athens for about six years; but this interval was not one of peace within the Peloponnese. Argos had prospered in the thirty years of peace with Sparta now terminated, and revived her old claims to supremacy. She found adherents in the allies of Sparta, who were dissatisfied with the terms of peace, and a confederacy was formed headed by Argos, and including Corinth, Elis, Mantinēa, and Chalcidicé.

League of Argos against Sparta.

Between Sparta and Athens themselves matters were far from being on a satisfactory footing. Sparta confessed her inability to compel the Boeotians and Corinthians to accede to the peace, or even to restore the town of Amphipolis. Athens consequently refused to evacuate Pylos, though she removed the Helots and Messenians from it. In the negotiations which ensued respecting the surrender of Pylos, Alcibiades took a prominent part. This extraordinary man had already obtained immense influence at Athens. Young, rich, handsome, profligate, and clever, Alcibiades was the model of fashion to the young men of Athens, and a favourite of the masses of the people, whom he dazzled by his brilliancy. On the death of his father Cleinias, his kinsman Pericles had become his guardian. From early youth his conduct was marked by violence, recklessness, and vanity. He delighted in astonishing the more sober portion of the citizens by his capricious and extravagant feats. Nothing could check

Part taken by Athens. Alcibiades.

the fancy of the moment. He strikes a schoolmaster because he does not possess a copy of Homer, a choregus because he is his rival in the theatre; he tears up in a court of law the indictment against a poet whom he patronizes. The party of Nicias distrusted him, but the people generally were amused by his impetuosity, and overlooked the fact that at the bottom of it was the utter want of restraining principle which marked his whole life. He was utterly destitute of morality, whether public or private. But his vices were partly redeemed by some brilliant qualities. He possessed both boldness of design and vigour of action; and, though scarcely more than thirty at the time of which we are now speaking, he had already on several occasions distinguished himself by his bravery. His ambition led him to desire skill in oratory: with this view he frequented the schools of Prodicus, Protagoras, and above all of Socrates, and had made himself a fairly telling speaker. His popularity was confirmed by the credit which he won for Athens at the first Olympic games after peace was made (419 B.C.), where he entered the unprecedented number of seven four-horse chariots, and gained the first and second prizes.

Such was the man who now opposed the application of the Lacedaemonian ambassadors. Their reception had been so favourable, that Alcibiades, alarmed at the prospect of their success, resorted to a trick in order to defeat it. He called upon the Lacedaemonian envoys, and advised them not to tell the Assembly that they were furnished with full powers, as in that case the people would bully them into extravagant concessions, but rather to say that they were merely come to discuss and report. He promised, if they did so, to speak in their favour, and induce the Assembly to give up Pylos. Accordingly on the next day, when the ambassadors were introduced into the Assembly, Alcibiades, assuming his blandest tone, asked them on what footing they came? The ambassadors, who only a day or two before had told Nicias and the Senate that they were come as plenipotentiaries, now declared that they were not authorized to conclude, but only to negotiate and discuss. A universal burst of indignation broke forth at this exhibition of Spartan duplicity. Alcibiades, affecting to be surprised, was loudest in his invectives against the perfidy of the Lacedaemonians.

By these means Alcibiades procured the completion of a treaty of alliance for 100 years with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea (420 B.C.), in spite of the opposition of Nicias and his party, who wished to secure the peace with Sparta. **Alliance with Argos.**

After two years of skirmishing, rather than of serious warfare, in the Peloponnesus, the Lacedaemonians found it necessary to act with more vigour; and accordingly in 418 B.C. they assembled a very large army, under the command of the Spartan king, Agis. The Bœotians, with whom Sparta had made an alliance, sent a contingent of 1000 men. In the first part of the campaign he had the Argive army completely at his mercy, but was induced, by offers of submission from Argos, to let them escape. These offers were retracted when Athenian reinforcements arrived at Argos, and Agis was sent to atone, if he could, for his former mistake. A decisive battle was fought near Mantinēa, in which he gained a brilliant victory over the Argives and their allies. This battle and that of Delium were the two most important engagements that had yet been fought in the Peloponnesian war. Although the Athenians fought on the side of the Argives at Mantinēa, the peace between Sparta and Athens continued to be nominally observed. **Battle of Mantinēa.**

In 416 B.C. the Athenians attacked and conquered Melos, which island and Thera were the only islands in the Aegean not subject to the Athenian supremacy. The Melians having refused to submit, their capital was blockaded by sea and land, and after a siege of some months surrendered. On the proposal, as it appears, of Alcibiades, all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the island colonized afresh by 500 Athenians. This horrible proceeding was the more indefensible, as the Athenians, having attacked the Melians in time of peace, could not pretend that they were justified by the custom of war in slaying the prisoners. It was the crowning act of insolence and cruelty displayed during their empire. **Capture of Melos.**

But from this point the power of the Athenian empire began to decline, and the event destined to produce that catastrophe—the interference of the Athenians in the affairs of Sicily—was already in progress. A quarrel had broken out between Segesta

and Selīnus, cities near the western extremity of Sicily. Selinus was aided by Syracuse, and the Segestaeans appealed to the Athenians, representing how great a blow it would be to Athens if the Dorians became predominant in Sicily, and joined the Peloponnesian confederacy. They undertook, if the Athenians would send an armament to their assistance, to provide the funds for the prosecution of the war. Their most powerful advocate was Alcibiades, who dreamed of annexing all the states of Sicily to the Athenian empire. The more prudent Nicias and his party threw their weight into the opposite scale. But the Athenian assembly, dazzled by the idea of so splendid an enterprise, decided on despatching a large fleet under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus to help Segesta, and to establish the influence of Athens throughout Sicily, by whatever means might be found practicable.

Athenian intervention in Sicily.

The expedition was on the point of sailing, when the city was startled by a sudden and mysterious event. At every door in Athens, at the corners of streets, in the market-place, before temples, gymnasia, and other public places, stood Hermae, that is, busts of the god Hermes placed on a quadrangular pillar of marble about the height of a man. When the Athenians rose one morning towards the end of May, 415 B.C., it was found that all these figures had been hacked out of all shape during the night. The act inspired political, as well as religious, alarm. It seemed to indicate a widespread conspiracy, for so sudden and general a mutilation must have been the work of many hands. The sacrilege might only be a preliminary attempt of some powerful citizen to seize the despotism, and suspicion was directed to Alcibiades. It is unlikely that Alcibiades had anything to do with it. He was sufficiently occupied with his Sicilian schemes, and it is not impossible that the outrage was arranged by his enemies to prevent him from carrying them out. A public board was appointed to examine witnesses, which did not, indeed, succeed in eliciting any facts bearing on the actual subject of inquiry, but obtained evidence respecting former acts of impiety committed in drunken frolics. In these Alcibiades himself was implicated; and though the fleet was on the very eve of departure, a citizen rose in the assembly and accused Alcibiades of

Mutilation of the Hermae.

having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by giving a representation of them in a private house, producing in evidence the testimony of a slave. Alcibiades denied the accusation, and implored the people to have it investigated at once. His enemies, however, had sufficient influence to get the inquiry postponed, so that they might press the accusation in his absence.

Expedition to Sicily.

The Athenian fleet, consisting of 100 triremes, and having on board 1500 chosen Athenian hoplites, as well as auxiliaries, at length set sail, and proceeded to Corcyra, where it was joined by the other allies in the month of July, 415 B.C. At Rhegium the generals received the discouraging news that Segesta was unable to contribute more than thirty talents. A story is told that the Segestaeans had tricked the Athenian envoys into a belief in the wealth of their city by showing them silver-gilt vessels as gold, and by inviting them to banquets in different private houses, in each of which all the plate that could be collected in Segesta was set out.

Plans for the campaign.

In the council of war which followed, Nicias advised that, since they had been misled by the promises of Segesta, they should merely extort terms from Selinus and return home. This would have been unambitious, but at least did not endanger the Athenian power. The bolder plan of Lamachus, to make a sudden attack on Syracuse, as yet unprepared, might have succeeded; just as, in the Crimean war, an immediate attack upon Sebastopol after the battle of the Alma might have proved the best strategy. The plan of Alcibiades, which was adopted, involved the delays which enabled Syracuse to strengthen herself, and proved the ruin of Athens. This plan was to remain in Sicily and collect more allies, and then to attack Syracuse.

Naxos joined the Athenians, and shortly afterwards they obtained possession by surprise of the important city of Cătăna, which was now made the head-quarters of the armament. Here an unwelcome message greeted Alcibiades. After his departure from Athens, Thessălus, the son of Cimon, indicted him for profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries. The Salaminia, or state trireme, was despatched to Sicily, with orders for Alcibiades to come home and stand his trial. The commander of the Salaminia was, however, instructed not to seize his person, but to allow him to sail in his own trireme. Alcibiades availed

himself of this privilege to effect his escape. When the ships arrived at Thurii in Italy, he slipped away, and contrived to elude the search that was made after him. Nevertheless, though absent, he was arraigned at Athens, and condemned to death; his property was confiscated; and the Eumolpĭdae, who presided over the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, pronounced upon him the curses of the gods. On hearing of his sentence Alcibiades is said to have exclaimed, "I will show them that I am still alive."

Three months had now been frittered away in Sicily, during which the Athenians had done little or nothing, if we except the acquisition of Naxos and Catana. Nicias now resolved to make an attempt upon Syracuse. By a false message that the Catanaeans were ready to assist in expelling the Athenians, he induced the Syracusans to proceed thither in great force, and he availed himself of their absence to sail with his whole fleet into the Great Harbour of Syracuse, where he landed near the mouth of the Anāpus. The Syracusans, when they found that they had been deceived at Catana, marched back and offered Nicias battle in his new position. He accepted it, and gained the victory; after which he retired to Catana, and subsequently to Naxos into winter quarters. The expedition, however, brought no real advantage to the Athenians, but rather the contrary, since it roused the Syracusans to greater activity, and induced them to employ the winter in preparations for defence. They also despatched envoy to Corinth and Sparta to solicit assistance, and at Sparta they found an unexpected advocate.

Alcibiades, having crossed from Thurii to Cyllēné in Peloponnesus, received a special invitation to proceed to Sparta.

Alcibiades advises the Spartans.

Here he revealed all the plans of Athens, and exhorted the Lacedaemonians to frustrate them. For this purpose he advised them to send an army into Sicily, under the command of a Spartan general, and, by way of causing a diversion, to establish a fortified post at Decelēa in the Attic territory. The Spartans fell in with these views, and resolved to send a force to the assistance of Syracuse in the spring, under the command of Gylippus.

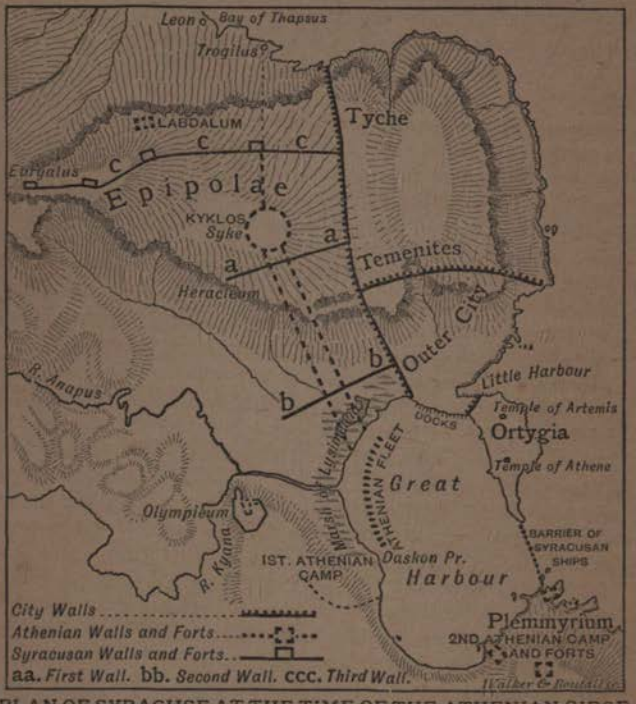
Nicias, having received reinforcements from Athens in the spring, resolved to besiege Syracuse. That town consisted of two parts—the inner and the outer city. The former of these

—the original settlement—was comprised in Ortygia, formerly an island, but already connected with the mainland by a narrow causeway, and was completely separated from the Outer city by a fortified wall; the latter, of uncertain area, occupied the land north of Ortygia. The island, or rather peninsula, of Ortygia, to which the modern city is now confined, is of an oblong shape, about two miles in circumference, lying between the Great Harbour on the west, and the Little Harbour on the east. The Outer city stretched down to both harbours, on either side of Ortygia, and was defended by walls on its landward side. The Great Harbour is a splendid bay, about five miles in circumference, and the Little Harbour was spacious enough to receive a large fleet of ships of war. North and north-west of the Outer city stretched the upland plateau of Epīpŏlae, sloping back towards the mountains of the interior. This ground was included within the later walls of Dionysius; probably its eastern portion, bordered by the sea, was called Achradīna, though some consider that this name belonged to the flat ground below Epipolae. Two unfortified suburbs existed at the time of the Athenian siege on a part of Epipolae, Temenītes (afterwards Neapolis) immediately to the north of the Outer city, and Tyche some way further to the north and near the sea.

Siege of Syracuse begun, 414 B.C.

It was from the high ground of Epipolae that Syracuse was most exposed to attack, and the Syracusans before the siege began had constructed a new wall, which included Temenites and probably all the eastern part of Epipolae: the precise course is unknown: we are told that, in consequence of it, the Athenian land-force had to erect longer blockading-lines. Nicias landed at Leon, a place upon the bay of Thapsus, at the distance of only six or seven stadia from Epipolae, took possession of Epipolae, and erected on the summit a fort called Labdălum. Then coming farther down the hill towards Syracuse, he built another fort of a circular form and of considerable size at a place called Syke. From the latter point he began his line of circumvallation, one wall extending southwards to the Great Harbour, and the other wall running northwards to the outer sea. The Athenians succeeded in completing the circumvallation towards the south, in spite of attempts which the enemy made to thwart them by building cross walls running westwards from Temenites

and from the Outer city: but in one of their many engagements with the Syracusans they lost the gallant Lamachus. At the same time, the Athenian fleet entered the Great Harbour, where it was henceforth permanently established. The northern wall was



PLAN OF SYRACUSE AT THE TIME OF THE ATHENIAN SIEGE,
based on the maps of Lupus and Haverfield.

English Miles 0 ½ ½ 1 1½ 0 . . . 5 10 15 Stadia 0 1 3 Kilometres

never completed, and through the passage thus left open the besieged continued to obtain provisions. Nicias, who, by the death of Lamachus, had become sole commander, seemed now on the point of succeeding. The Syracusans no longer ventured

to show themselves outside the walls: they began to think of surrender, and even sent messages to Nicias to treat of the terms. This caused the Athenian commander to indulge in a false confidence of success, and operations were no longer carried on with activity.

Arrival of Gylippus in Syracuse

It was in this state of affairs that the Spartan commander, Gylippus, passed over into Italy with a little squadron of four ships, with the view merely of preserving the Greek cities in that country, supposing that Syracuse, and, with her, the other Greek cities in Sicily, were irretrievably lost. At Tarentum he learned to his great surprise and satisfaction that the Athenian wall of circumvallation at Syracuse had not yet been completed on the northern side. He now sailed through the straits of Messana, which were left completely unguarded, and arrived safely at Himĕra on the north coast of Sicily. Here he announced himself as the forerunner of larger succours, and began to levy an army, which the magic of the Spartan name soon enabled him to collect; and in a few days he was in a condition to march towards Syracuse with about 3000 men. He made his way into the city through the still unfinished northern wall of circumvallation, where with inexcusable carelessness Nicias had made no attempt to check his advance. Upon arriving in the city, Gylippus sent a message to the Athenians allowing them a five days' truce to gather their effects and evacuate the island. Nicias returned no answer to this insulting proposal; but the operations of Gylippus soon showed that the tide of affairs was really turned. His first exploit was to capture the Athenian fort at Labdalum, which made him master of Epipolae. He next constructed a counter-wall to intersect the Athenian lines on the northern side, running westwards as far as Euryālus, the highest point of Epipolae. This turn of affairs induced those Sicilian cities which had hitherto hesitated to embrace the side of Syracuse. Gylippus was also reinforced by the arrival of 30 triremes from Corinth, Leucas, and Ambracia.

Nicias takes up a defensive position.

Nicias now felt that the attempt to blockade Syracuse with his present force was hopeless. He therefore resolved to occupy the headland of Plemmyrium, the southern-most point of the entrance to the Great Harbour, which would be a convenient post for watching the enemy, as well as

a place of defence for his ships and stores. Here he accordingly erected three forts and formed a naval station. The Athenians were now a besieged rather than a besieging force. Their triremes were becoming leaky, and their soldiers and sailors were deserting. Nicias himself had fallen into a bad state of health; and in this discouraging posture of affairs he wrote to Athens, begging that he might either be recalled or strongly reinforced.

The Athenians refused to recall him, but they determined on sending a large reinforcement to Sicily, under the joint command of Demosthenes and Eurymĕdon. The news of these fresh preparations incited the Lacedaemonians to more vigorous action. The peace, if such it can be called, was now openly broken; and in the spring of 413 B.C. the Lacedaemonians, under king Agis, invaded Attica itself, and, following the advice of Alcibiades, established themselves at Decelēa, a place situated on the ridge of Mount Parnes, about 14 miles north of Athens, and commanding the Athenian plain. The city was thus placed in a state of siege. Scarcity began to be felt within the walls; the revenues were falling off; the expenses were increasing.

Operations in Greece.

The Spartans occupy Decelēa.

Meanwhile in Sicily the Syracusans had gained confidence to venture on a naval engagement with the Athenians. In the first battle the Athenians were victorious, but Gylippus with the land forces succeeded in capturing the Athenian storehouses at Plemmyrium: the second battle, which lasted two days, ended in their defeat. They were now obliged to haul up their ships in the innermost part of the Great Harbour, under the lines of their fortified camp. A more serious disaster than the loss of the battle was the loss of their naval reputation. It was evident that the Athenians had ceased to be invincible on the sea; and the Syracusans no longer despaired of overcoming them on their own element.

Such was the state of affairs when, to the astonishment of the Syracusans, the fresh Athenian fleet of 75 triremes, under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, entered the Great Harbour. It had on board a force of 5000 hoplites, of whom about a quarter were Athenians, and a great number of light-armed troops. The active and enterprising character of Demosthenes led him to

Athenian reinforcements.

adopt more vigorous measures. He saw at once that whilst Epipolae remained in the possession of the Syracusans there was no hope of taking their city, and he therefore directed all his efforts to the recapture of that position. But his attempts were unavailing. He was defeated not only in an open assault upon the Syracusan wall, but in an attempt to carry it by surprise in a night attack. These reverses were aggravated by the breaking out of sickness among the troops. Demosthenes now proposed to return home and join in expelling the Lacedaemonians from Attica, instead of pursuing an enterprise which seemed to be hopeless. But Nicias, who feared to return to Athens with the stigma of failure, refused to give his consent to this step. Demosthenes then proposed to quit the Great Harbour, and take up a position either at Thapsus or Catana, where they could obtain abundant supplies of provisions, and would have an open sea for the manœuvres of their fleet. But even to this proposal Nicias would not consent; and the army and navy clung to their old station. Soon afterwards, however, Gylippus received such large reinforcements, that Nicias found it necessary to adopt the advice of his colleague. Preparations were secretly made for their departure; the enemy appear to have had no suspicion of their intention, and they were on the point of quitting their ill-fated quarters on the following morning, when on that very night (27 Aug. 413 B.C.) an eclipse of the moon took place. The soothsayers who were consulted said that the army must wait thrice nine days, a full circle of the moon, before it could quit its present position; and the devout and superstitious Nicias resolved to abide by this decision.

Athenian reverses: plans for retreat.

Meanwhile the intention of the Athenians became known to the Syracusans, who determined to strike a blow before their enemy escaped. They accordingly attacked the Athenian station both by sea and land. On land the attack of Gylippus was repulsed; but at sea the Athenian fleet was completely defeated, and Eurymedon, who commanded the right division, was slain. The spirits of the Syracusans rose with their victories; and though they would formerly have been content with the mere retreat of the Athenians, they now resolved on effecting their utter destruction. With this view they blocked up the entrance

Great battle in the harbour.

of the Great Harbour with a line of vessels moored across it. All hope seemed now to be cut off from the Athenians, unless they could succeed in forcing this line and thus effecting their escape. The Athenian fleet still numbered 110 triremes, which Nicias furnished with grappling-irons, in order to bring the enemy to close quarters, and then caused a large proportion of his land-force to embark.

Never perhaps was a battle fought under circumstances of such intense interest, or witnessed by so many spectators vitally concerned in the result. The basin of the Great Harbour, about 5 miles in circumference, in which nearly 200 ships, each with crews of more than 200 men, were about to engage, was lined with spectators. The Syracusan fleet was the first to leave the shore. A considerable portion was detached to guard the barrier at the mouth of the harbour. Hither the Athenians directed their first and most impetuous attack, seeking to break through the narrow opening which had been left for the passage of merchant vessels. Their onset was repulsed, and the battle then became general. The shouts of the combatants, and the crash of the vessels as they were driven together, resounded over the water, and were answered on shore by the cheers or wailings of the spectators as their friends were victorious or vanquished. For a long time the battle was maintained with heroic courage and doubtful result. At length, as the Athenian vessels began to yield and make back towards the shore, a universal cry of despair arose from the Athenian army, whilst shouts of joy and victory were raised from the pursuing vessels, and were echoed back from the Syracusans on land. As the Athenian vessels neared the shore their crews leaped out, and made for the camp, whilst the boldest of the land army rushed forward to protect the ships from being seized by the enemy. The Athenians succeeded in saving only 60 ships, or about half their fleet. The Syracusan fleet, however, had been reduced to 50 ships; and on the same afternoon, Nicias and Demosthenes, as a last hope of escape, exhorted their men to make another attempt to break the enemy's line, and force their way out of the harbour. But the courage of the crews was so completely damped that they positively refused to re-embark.

The Athenian army still numbered 40,000 men; and as

escape by sea was now hopeless, it was resolved to retreat by land to some friendly city, and there defend themselves against the attacks of the Syracusans. As the soldiers turned to quit that fatal encampment, the sense of their own woes was for a moment suspended by the sight of their unburied comrades, who seemed to reproach them with the neglect of a sacred duty; but still more by the wailings and entreaties of the wounded, whom they were leaving to certain destruction. In this extremity of misfortune Nicias displayed a spirit and energy which might have saved the army at an earlier time. Though suffering under an incurable complaint, he was everywhere seen marshalling and encouraging his troops. The march was directed towards the territory of the Sicels in the interior of the island. The army was formed into a hollow square with the baggage in the middle; Nicias leading the van, and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. The road ascended by a sort of ravine over a steep hill called the Acraean cliff, on which the Syracusans had fortified themselves. After spending two days in vain attempts to force this position, Nicias and Demosthenes resolved during the night to strike off to the left towards the sea. But they were overtaken, surrounded by superior forces, and compelled to surrender at discretion. Out of the 40,000 who started from the camp only 10,000 at the utmost were left at the end of the sixth day's march, the rest had either deserted or been slain. The prisoners were sent to work in the stone-quarries of Achradina and Epipolae. Here they were crowded together without any shelter, and with scarcely provisions enough to sustain life. The bodies of those who died were left to putrefy where they had fallen, till at length the place became such a centre of infection that, at the end of seventy days, the Syracusans, for their own safety, got rid of the survivors by selling them as slaves. Nicias and Demosthenes were condemned to death in spite of the efforts of Gylippus and Hermocrates to save them.

Retreat of the Athenians by land.

Surrender of the Athenian army.

Such was the end of two of the largest and best appointed armaments that had ever gone forth from Athens. Nicias, as we have seen, was from the first opposed to the expedition in which they were employed, as pregnant with the most

dangerous consequences to Athens; but, though in this respect his views were sound, it cannot be concealed that his own want of energy, and his incompetence as a general, were the chief causes of the failure of the undertaking. His mistakes involved the fall of Demosthenes, an officer of greater resolution and ability than himself, who, had his counsels been followed, would in all probability have brought the army home in safety: success in Sicily was by that time impossible.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—THIRD PERIOD, FROM THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE END OF THE WAR, 413–404 B.C.

THE destruction of the Sicilian armament was a fatal blow to the power of Athens. By this disaster she had lost more than two-thirds of her existing navy, and fully one-third of her army, at the very time when her treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and the city itself was placed almost in a state of siege by the Lacedaemonian post at Decelēa. Her situation inspired her enemies with new vigour; states hitherto neutral declared against her; her subject-allies prepared to throw off the yoke; even the Persian satraps and the court of Susa bestirred themselves against her. The first blow to her empire was struck by the wealthy island of Chios. This again was the work of Alcibiades, the implacable enemy of his native land, by whose advice a Lacedaemonian fleet was sent to help the Chians. The example of Chios was followed by all the other Athenian allies in Asia, with the exception of Samos, in which the democratical party gained the upper hand. In the midst of this general defection the Athenians did not give way to despair. Pericles had set apart a reserve of 1000 talents to meet the contingency of an actual invasion. This still remained untouched, and now by an unanimous vote the penalty of death, which forbade its appropriation to any other purpose, was abolished, and the fund applied in fitting out a fleet against Chios. Samos became the headquarters of the fleet, and the base of their operations during the remainder of the war.

Condition of Athens after the Sicilian disaster.

In the first year of this new phase of the war (412 B.C.) the Spartans had gained a preponderating power on the Asiatic coast. Miletus as well as Chios took active part with them;

they captured Iăsus, and their forces were strengthened by a Sicilian fleet, sent under the command of the Syracusan Hermocrătes. But it was something for Athens to have escaped annihilation. There is little doubt that the city must have fallen if the Spartans had made a vigorous attack as soon as they heard of the disaster at Syracuse. The Athenians had time allowed them to strengthen their fleet: they even gained some successes in Asia, and recovered Lesbos from the Spartans. In the next year Athens was still further weakened by the revolt of Rhodes; but the Spartans lost the assistance of Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, through the intrigues of Alcibiades. In the course of a few months Alcibiades had completely forfeited the confidence of the Lacedaemonians. The Spartan king Agis, whose wife he had seduced, was his personal enemy; and after the defeat of the Peloponnesians at Miletus, Agis denounced him as a traitor. He escaped to Tissaphernes at Magnesia, won the confidence of the satrap, and persuaded him that it was not for the interest of Persia that either of the Grecian parties should be successful, but rather that they should wear each other out in their struggles, and leave Persia in secure possession of Asia. This advice was adopted; and Tissaphernes secured the inactivity of the Peloponnesian armament by withholding promised supplies of ships and money. In order to secure his return to Athens, Alcibiades now endeavoured to persuade Tissaphernes that it was more for the Persian interest to conclude a league with Athens than with Sparta; but the only part of his advice which the satrap seems to have sincerely adopted was that of playing off one party against the other. About this, however, Alcibiades did not at all concern himself. It was enough for his views, which had merely the selfish aim of his own restoration to Athens, if he could make it appear that he possessed sufficient influence with Tissaphernes to procure his assistance for the Athenians. He therefore began to communicate with the Athenian generals at Samos, and held out the hope of a Persian alliance as the price of his restoration to his country. But as he both hated and feared the Athenian democracy, he asserted that the Persian alliance depended on the condition that an oligarchy be established at Athens. The Athenian generals caught at the proposal; and though the great mass of the soldiery were opposed to it, they were silenced, if

Intrigues of Alcibiades.

not satisfied, when told that Athens could be saved only by means of Persia. It happened, too, that the strength of the democracy had been impaired at this time both by losses in Sicily and by the absence of many leaders and supporters at Samos. The oligarchical conspirators formed themselves into a confederacy, and Peisander was sent to Athens to lay the proposal before the Athenian assembly. It met, as it might be supposed, with the most determined opposition. The single but unanswerable reply of Peisander was, that no other means of avoiding ruin could be suggested; and at length a reluctant vote for a change of constitution was extorted from the people. Peisander and ten others were despatched to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes.

Upon their arrival in Ionia they informed Alcibiades that measures had been taken for establishing an oligarchical form of government at Athens, and required him to fulfil his part of the engagement by procuring the aid and alliance of Persia. But Alcibiades knew that he had undertaken what he could not perform, and he now resolved to escape from the dilemma by one of his habitual artifices. He made such extravagant demands on behalf of Tissaphernes that Peisander and his colleagues broke off the conference.

Notwithstanding the conduct of Alcibiades, the oligarchical conspirators proceeded with the revolution at Athens, in which they had gone too far to recede. Peisander and five of the envoys returned to Athens to complete the work which they had begun. Peisander carried a resolution in the assembly that a board of ten commissioners already in existence, with twenty additional members, should prepare a new constitution, which was to be submitted to the approbation of the people. But when the day appointed for that purpose arrived, the assembly was not convened in the Pnyx, but in the temple of Poseidon at Colōnus, a village upwards of a mile from Athens. Here the conspirators could plant their own partisans, and were less liable to be overawed by superior numbers. Peisander obtained the assent of the meeting to the following revolutionary changes devised chiefly by Antiphon :— 1. The abolition of all the existing magistracies ; 2. The cessation of all payments for the discharge of civil functions ; 3. The appointment of a committee of five persons, who were to name

Revolution at Athens.

ninety-five more; each of the hundred thus constituted to chose three persons; the body of Four Hundred thus formed to be an irresponsible government, holding its sittings in the senate house. The four hundred were to convene a select body of five thousand citizens whenever they thought proper. Nobody knew who these five thousand were, but they answered two purposes, namely, to give an air of greater popularity to the government, and to overawe the people by an exaggerated notion of its strength.

Thus perished the Athenian democracy, after an existence of nearly a century since its establishment by Cleisthenes. The revolution was begun from despair of the foreign relations of Athens, and from the hope of assistance from Persia; but it was carried out through the machinations of the conspirators after they knew this hope to be delusive.

The democracy maintained by the army at Samos.

At Samos the Athenian army refused to recognize the new government. At the instance of Thrasybūlus and Thrasyllus a meeting was called, in which the soldiers pledged themselves to maintain the democracy, to continue the war against Peloponnesus, and to put down the usurpers at Athens. The soldiers constituted themselves an assembly of the people, deposed several of their officers, and appointed others whom they could better trust. Thrasybulus proposed the recall of Alcibiades, notwithstanding his connexion with the oligarchical conspiracy, because he now caused it to be believed that he was able to aid the democratic cause with the gold and forces of Persia. After considerable opposition the proposal was agreed to; Alcibiades was brought to Samos and introduced to the assembly, where by his magnificent promises, and extravagant boasts respecting his influence with Tissaphernes, he once more succeeded in deceiving the Athenians. The accomplished traitor was elected one of the generals, and, in pursuance of his artful policy, began to pass backwards and forwards between Samos and Magnesia, with the view of inspiring the Athenians with an idea of his influence, and of instilling distrust of Tissaphernes into the minds of the Peloponnesians.

At the first news of the re-establishment of democracy at Samos, distrust and discord had broken out among the Four Hundred. Antiphon and Phrynichus, at the head of the extreme

section of the oligarchical party, were for admitting a Lacedaemonian garrison. But others, discontented with their share of power, began to affect more popular sentiments: among these were Theramĕnes and Aristocrătes. Meantime Euboea, supported by the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians, revolted from Athens. The loss of this island seemed a death-blow. The Lacedaemonians might now easily blockade the ports of Athens and starve her into surrender; whilst the partisans of the Four Hundred would doubtless co-operate with the enemy. But from this fate they were saved by the characteristic slowness of the Lacedaemonians, who confined themselves to securing the control of Euboea. Thus left unmolested, the Athenians convened an assembly in the Pnyx. Votes were passed for deposing the Four Hundred, and placing the government in the hands of the 5000, of whom every citizen who could provide himself with the armour of a hoplite might be a member. In short, the old constitution was restored, except that the franchise was nominally restricted to 5000 citizens (really including all who could provide arms for themselves), and that payment for the discharge of civil functions was abolished. Thus the Four Hundred were overthrown after a reign of four months, 411 B.C. The complete democracy, with all its officers and institutions, was re-established not long afterwards, probably when the fleet returned to Athens from the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C.

Democracy restored at Athens.

Meantime the war went on on the coast of Asia Minor. Mindărus, who now commanded the Peloponnesian fleet, disgusted by the often-broken promises of Tissaphernes, and the scanty and irregular pay which he furnished, set sail from Miletus and proceeded to the Hellespont, with the intention of acting with the satrap Pharnabazus, and of effecting, if possible, the revolt of the Athenian dependencies in that quarter. Hither he was pursued by the Athenian fleet under Thrasyllus. In a few days an engagement ensued (in August, 411 B.C.), in the straits between Sestos and Abȳdos, in which the Athenians, though with a smaller force, gained the victory, and erected a trophy on the promontory of Cynossēma, near the tomb and chapel of the Trojan queen Hecuba. The Athenians followed up their victory by the reduction of Cyzĭcus, which had revolted from them. A

Conduct of the war in Asia.

month or two afterwards another obstinate engagement took place between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets near Abydos, which lasted a whole day, and was at length decided in favour of the Athenians by the arrival of Alcibiades with his squadron of eighteen ships from Samos.

Shortly after this battle Tissaphernes arrived at the Hellespont with the view of conciliating the offended Peloponnesians. He was not only jealous of the assistance which the latter were now rendering to Pharnabazus, but it is also evident that his temporizing policy had displeased the Persian court. This appears from his conduct on the present occasion, as well as from the subsequent appointment of Cyrus to the supreme command on the Asiatic coast, as we shall presently have to relate. When Alcibiades, who imagined that Tissaphernes was still favourable to the Athenian cause, waited on him with the customary presents, he was arrested by order of the satrap, and sent in custody to Sardis. At the end of a month, however, he contrived to escape to Clazomenae, and again joined the Athenian fleet early in the spring of 410 B.C. Mindarus, aided by the land forces of Pharnabazus, was now engaged in the siege of Cyzicus, which the Athenian admirals determined to relieve. Here a battle ensued, in which Mindarus was slain, the Lacedaemonians and Persians routed, and almost the whole Peloponnesian fleet captured. The severity of this blow was pictured in the laconic epistle in which Hippocrates, the second in command,* announced it to the Ephors: "Our ships are gone; Mindarus is slain; the men are starving; we know not what to do." †

Battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C.

The results of this victory were most important. Perinthus and Selymbria, as well as Cyzicus, were recovered; and the Athenians, once more masters of the Propontis, fortified the town of Chrysopŏlis, over against Byzantium, at the entrance of the Bospŏrus; re-established their toll of ten per cent. on all vessels passing from the Euxine; and left a squadron to guard the strait and collect the dues. So great was the discouragement of the Lacedaemonians at the loss of their fleet that the Ephor Endius

Spartan proposals of peace rejected by Athens.

* Called *Epistoleus*. The title of Mindarus, as head of the Spartan naval affairs, was Navarchus.

† Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα (*not* καλά)· Μινδάρος ἀπεσσύα πεινῶντι πάνδρες· ἀπορίομές τί χρὴ δρᾶν (Xen. *Hell.* i. 1, 23).

proceeded to Athens to treat for peace on the basis of both parties standing just as they were; so that Athens would lose those dependencies which had successfully revolted, Chios, Miletus, Rhodes, Euboea; but would retain the rest of her subject allies; the Spartan garrison would be withdrawn from Decelēa, and the Athenian from Pylos. The Athenian assembly was at this time led by the demagogue Cleŏphon, a lamp-maker, known to us by the later comedies of Aristophanes. Cleophon appears to have been a man of considerable ability; but the late victories had inspired him with too sanguine hopes, and he advised the Athenians to reject the terms proposed by Endius. Athens thus threw away the golden opportunity of recruiting her shattered forces, and to this unfortunate advice must be ascribed the calamities which subsequently overtook her.

The possession of the Bosporus reopened to the Athenians the trade of the Euxine. From his lofty fortress at Decelēa the Spartan king Agis could descry the corn-ships from the Euxine sailing into the harbour of the Peiraeus, and felt how fruitless it was to occupy the fields of Attica whilst such abundant supplies of provisions were continually finding their way to the city. Towards the end of the year 409 B.C. the important towns of Chalcēdon and Byzantium fell into the hands of the Athenians, thus leaving them undisputed masters of the Propontis.

These great achievements of Alcibiades naturally paved the way for his return to Athens. In the spring of 408 B.C. he proceeded with the fleet to Samos, and from thence sailed to Peiraeus. His reception was far more favourable than he had ventured to anticipate. The whole population of Athens flocked down to Peiraeus to welcome him, and escorted him to the city. He seemed to be in the present juncture the only man capable of restoring the grandeur and the empire of Athens: he was accordingly named general with unlimited powers; and a force of 100 triremes, 1500 hoplites, and 150 cavalry was placed at his disposal. Before his departure he took an opportunity to atone for the impiety of which he had been suspected. Although his armament was in perfect readiness, he delayed its sailing till after the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at the beginning of September. For seven years the sacred procession across the Thriasian plain had been suspended, owing to the

Return of Alcibiades, 408 B.C.

occupation of Decelēa by the enemy, which compelled the worshippers to proceed by sea. Alcibiades now escorted them on their progress and return with his forces, and thus reconciled himself with the offended goddesses and with their holy priests, the Eumolpidae.

Meanwhile a great change had been going on in the state of affairs in the East. We have already seen that the Great King was displeased with the vacillating policy of Tissaphernes, and had determined to adopt more energetic measures against the Athenians. During the absence of Alcibiades, Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, a prince of a bold and enterprising spirit, and animated with a lively hatred of Athens, had arrived at the coast for the purpose of carrying out the altered policy of the Persian court; and with that view he had been invested with the satrapies of Lydia, the Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia. The arrival of Cyrus opens the last phase of the Peloponnesian war. Another event, in the highest degree unfavourable to the Athenian cause, was the accession of Lysander, as *Navarchus*, to the command of the Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was the third of the remarkable men whom Sparta produced during the war. In ability, energy, and success he may be compared with Brasidas and Gylippus, though immeasurably inferior to Brasidas, and possibly to Gylippus also, in every moral quality. He was born of poor parents, and was by descent one of those Lacedaemonians who could never enjoy the full rights of Spartan citizenship. His ambition was boundless, and he was unscrupulous about the means which he employed to gratify it. In pursuit of his objects he hesitated at neither deceit nor cruelty: his maxims in life were to avail himself of the "fox's skin where the lion's failed;" "to cheat children with dice, but men with oaths."

Cyrus appointed satrap in Asia Minor.

Lysander in command of the Spartan fleet.

Lysander had taken up his station at Ephĕsus, with the Lacedaemonian fleet of 70 triremes; and when Cyrus arrived at Sardis he hastened to pay his court to the young prince, and was received with every mark of favour. A vigorous line of action was resolved on. Cyrus at once offered 500 talents, saying that, if more were needed, he was prepared to coin into money the very throne of gold and silver on which he sat. In a banquet which ensued Cyrus drank to the health of Lysander,

and desired him to name any wish which he could grant. Lysander immediately asked for an addition of an obolus to the daily pay of the seamen. Cyrus was surprised at this apparent unselfishness, and conceived a high degree of respect for the Spartan commander. Lysander on his return to Ephesus employed himself in refitting his fleet, and in organizing factions in the Spartan interest in the cities of Asia.

Alcibiades set sail from Athens in September, 407 B.C. Being ill provided with funds, he made a plundering expedition to Phocaea, having given the command of his fleet at Notium to his pilot, Antiochus, with strict injunctions not to venture on an action. Notwithstanding these orders, Antiochus sailed out and brought the Peloponnesian fleet to an engagement, in which the Athenians were defeated with the loss of 15 ships, and Antiochus himself was slain. This disaster increased the distrust of Alcibiades, which had been growing anew at Athens: he had plundered the allies of Athens, he had accomplished nothing of importance, and now, by entrusting an important post to a mere boon-companion, he had caused the loss of the fleet. The Athenians voted that he should be dismissed from his command, and they appointed in his place ten new generals, with Conon at their head.

Athenian defeat at Notium, 407 B.C. Alcibiades dismissed.

The year of Lysander's command expired about the same time as the appointment of Conon to the Athenian fleet. Through the intrigues of Lysander, his successor Callicrătĭdas was received with dissatisfaction both by the Lacedaemonian seamen and by Cyrus. Loud complaints were raised of the impolicy of an annual change of commanders. Lysander threw all sorts of difficulties in the way of his successor, to whom he handed over an empty chest, having first repaid to Cyrus all the money in his possession under the pretence that it was a private loan. Callicratidas was sorely embarrassed for funds. Cyrus treated him with haughtiness; and when he waited on that prince at Sardis, he was dismissed not only without money, but even without an audience. He had, however, too much energy to be daunted by such obstacles. Sailing to Miletus, he laid before the assembly of that city all the ills they had suffered at the hands of the

Callicratidas succeeds Lysander.

Persians, and exhorted them to bestir themselves and dispense with the Persian alliance. He succeeded in persuading the citizens to make him a large grant of money, and the leading men came forward with private subscriptions. He was thus enabled to add 50 triremes to the 90 delivered to him by Lysander; and the Chians further provided him with ten days' pay for the seamen.

The fleet of Callicratidas was now double that of Conon, who was compelled to run before the superior forces of the enemy.

Conon blockaded at Mitylene.

Both fleets entered the harbour of Mitylēné at the same time: a battle ensued in which Conon lost 30 ships, but he saved the remaining 40 by hauling them ashore under the walls of the town. Callicratidas then blockaded Mitylene both by sea and land; but Conon contrived to despatch a trireme to Athens with the news of his desperate position.

As soon as the Athenians received intelligence of the blockade of Mitylene, vast efforts were made for its relief: in thirty days a fleet of 110 triremes was despatched from Peiraeus. The armament assembled at Samos, where it was reinforced by scattered Athenian ships, and by contingents from the allies, to the extent of 40 vessels. The whole fleet of 150 sail then proceeded to the small islands of Arginūsae, near the coast of Asia, and facing Malĕa, the south-eastern cape of Lesbos. Callicratidas, who went out to meet them, took up his station at the latter point, leaving a squadron of 50 ships to maintain the blockade of Mitylene. He had thus only 120 ships to oppose to the 150 of the Athenians, and his pilot advised him to retire before the superior force of the enemy. But Callicratidas replied that he would not disgrace himself by flight, and that if he should perish Sparta would not feel his loss. The battle was long and obstinate. In the course of it the admiral's ship was charged by an Athenian trireme, and Callicratidas, who stood on the prow of his vessel ready to board the enemy, was thrown overboard by the shock, and perished. At length victory declared for the Athenians. The Lacedaemonians, after losing 77 vessels, retreated with the remainder to Chios and Phocaea. The Athenians lost 25 vessels.

Battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C.

The battle of Arginusae led to a deplorable event, which has

sullied the pages of Athenian history. At least a dozen Athenian vessels were left floating about in a disabled condition after the battle; but owing, as was alleged, to a violent storm which sprang up, no attempt was made to rescue the survivors, or to collect the bodies of the dead for burial. Eight of the ten generals were summoned home to answer for this conduct; Conon, by his situation at Mitylene, was of course exculpated, and Archestratus had died. Six of the generals obeyed the summons, and were denounced in the Assembly by Theramenes, formerly one of the Four Hundred, for neglect of duty. The generals replied that they had commissioned Theramenes himself and Thrasybulus, each of whom commanded a trireme in the engagement, to undertake the duty, and had assigned 48 ships to them for that purpose. This was denied by Theramenes, and we have no materials for deciding positively which statement was true. After a day's debate the question was adjourned; and in the interval the festival of the *Apaturia* was celebrated, in which, according to annual custom, the citizens assembled in their families and phratries. On this occasion the relations of those who had perished at Arginusae appeared in mourning garb. The passions of the people were violently roused by the sight, and, taking advantage of the popular excitement, at the next meeting of the Assembly, Callixenus, a senator, proposed that the people should at once proceed to pass its verdict on the generals, though they had been only partially heard in their defence; and, moreover, that they should all be included in one sentence, though by a well-known law it was provided that each accused person should be indicted separately. The Prytanes, or senators of the presiding tribe, at first refused to put the question to the Assembly in this illegal way; but their opposition was at length overawed by clamour and violence. There was one honourable exception. The philosopher Socrates, who was one of the Prytanes, refused to withdraw his protest. But his opposition was disregarded, and the proposal of Callixenus was carried. The generals were condemned, delivered over to the Eleven for execution, and compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Among them was Pericles, the son of the celebrated statesman. In judging of the case it is right to remember two points which are sometimes overlooked or misstated: first, that the generals were accused, not merely of failing to pick up the

dead bodies, but of taking no steps to rescue living sailors on the wrecks, and therefore of causing the death of some hundreds of citizens; secondly, that the storm was probably not a valid excuse, since the Spartan admiral found it possible at that very time to put out to sea from Mitylene. But though it is likely that some at least of the generals deserved censure or even punishment, the facts remain that the procedure was in defiance of all law and justice, and that the punishment was inordinately severe. It was the height of folly, too, to deprive the state of capable officers at such a crisis. That the Athenians recognized all this they showed by a tardy repentance, and they punished Callixenus and his associates.

In the following year (405 B.C.), through the influence of Cyrus and the other allies of Sparta, Lysander again obtained the command of the Peloponnesian fleet, though nominally under Aracus as admiral; since it was contrary to Spartan usage that the same man should be twice *Navarchus*. His return to power was marked by more vigorous measures. He sailed to the Hellespont, and laid siege to Lampsăcus. The Athenian fleet arrived too late to save the town, but they proceeded up the strait and took post at Aegospŏtămi, a place which had nothing to recommend it, except its vicinity to Lampsacus, from which it was separated by a channel somewhat less than two miles broad. It was a mere desolate beach, without houses or inhabitants, so that all the supplies had to be fetched from Sestos, or from the surrounding country, and the seamen were obliged to leave their ships in order to procure food. In these circumstances the Athenians were very desirous of bringing Lysander to an engagement. But the Spartan commander, who was in a strong position, and well supplied, was in no hurry to run any risks. In vain did the Athenians sail over several days in succession to offer him battle; they always found his ships ready manned, and drawn up in too strong a position to warrant an attack; nor could they by all their manœuvres succeed in enticing him out to combat. This cowardice, as they deemed it, on the part of the Lacedaemonians, begat a corresponding negligence on theirs; discipline was neglected and the men allowed to straggle almost at will. It was in vain that Alcibiades, who since his dismissal was living in that neighbourhood, remonstrated with the Athenian generals on the exposed nature

of the station they had chosen, and advised them to proceed to Sestos. At length, on the fifth day, Lysander, having watched an opportunity when the Athenian seamen had gone on shore and were dispersed over the country, rowed swiftly across the strait with all his ships. He found the Athenian fleet, with the exception of 10 or 12 vessels, totally unprepared, and he captured nearly the whole of it. Of the 180 ships which composed the fleet, only the trireme of Conon himself, the Parălus, and 8 or 10 other vessels, succeeded in escaping. Conon was afraid to return to Athens after so signal a disaster, and took refuge with Evagŏras, prince of Salamis in Cyprus.

Battle of Aegospotami, 405 B.C.

By this momentous victory the Peloponnesian war was virtually brought to an end. Lysander had no wish to attempt a siege of Athens, when the command of the Euxine enabled him to control the supplies, and sooner or later, a few weeks of famine must decide her fall. He now sailed forth to take possession of the Athenian towns, which fell one after another into his power as soon as he appeared before them. About November he arrived at Aegina, with an overwhelming fleet of 150 triremes, and proceeded to devastate Salamis and blockade Peiraeus. At the same time the whole Peloponnesian army marched into Attica, and encamped in the precincts of the Acadēmus, at the very gates of Athens. Famine soon began to be felt within the walls, and at the end of three months the Athenians saw themselves compelled to submit to the terms of the conqueror. These terms were: That the long walls and the fortifications of Peiraeus should be demolished; that the Athenians should give up all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their own territory; that they should surrender all their ships of war; that they should readmit all their exiles; and that they should become allies of Sparta.

End of the Peloponnesian war.

It was about the middle or end of March, B.C. 404, that Lysander sailed into Peiraeus, and took formal possession of Athens; the war, in singular conformity with the prophecies current at the beginning of it, having lasted for a period of thrice nine, or 27 years. The insolence of the victors added another blow to the feelings of the conquered. The work of destruction, at

Surrender of Athens, 404 B.C.

which Lysander presided, was converted into a sort of festival. A chorus of flute-players and dancers inaugurated the destruction of the fortifications; and as the massive walls fell piece by piece a shout was heard from the ranks of the Peloponnesians that "freedom had at length begun for Greece."

CHAPTER XIII.

ATHENS UNDER THE THIRTY: THE DEATH OF SOCRATES, 404–399 B.C.

THE fall of Athens brought back a host of exiles, all of them the enemies of her democratical constitution. Of these the most distinguished was Critias, a man of wealth and family, the uncle of Plato, and once the intimate friend of Socrates, distinguished both for his literary and political talents, but of unmeasured ambition and unscrupulous conscience. Critias and his companions soon found a party with which they could co-operate; and supported by Lysander they proposed in the Assembly that a committee of thirty should be named to draw up laws for the future government of the city, and to undertake its temporary administration. Among the most prominent of the thirty names were those of Critias and Theramenes. The proposal was of course carried. Lysander himself addressed the Assembly, and contemptuously told them that they had better take thought for their personal safety, which now lay at his mercy, than for their political constitution. The committee thus appointed were known as "The Thirty." In later times they were often spoken of as "The Thirty Tyrants." The popular Assembly was of course abolished, and with it also the popular law courts. All judicial power was transferred to the Senate; and this was a new Senate composed entirely of persons who favoured the oligarchy. The Thirty then obtained from Lysander a Spartan garrison for the Acropolis, under the harmost Callibius. Their power was thus secure, and they proceeded to banish or put to death their most obnoxious opponents. But Critias and his party wished for more violent measures. The troops of Callibius were employed to disarm all the citizens, except a body of three thousand who

Oligarchy at Athens.

were selected as fit instruments, and formed, in fact, an organized band of assassins at their disposal. Blood now flowed on all sides. Many of the leading men of Athens fell, others took to flight.

Thus the reign of terror was completely established. Theramenes disapproved of these proceedings, and, with a few followers among the Thirty, strove to check them. But his moderation cost him his life. One day as he entered the Senate-house, Critias rose and denounced him as a public enemy. Theramenes sprang for refuge to the altar in the Senate-house; but he was dragged away to prison and compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. After swallowing the draught, he jerked on the floor a drop which remained in the cup, according to the custom of the game called *cottabos*, exclaiming, "This to the health of the *gentle* Critias!"

Reign of Terror at Athens.

Alcibiades had been included by the Thirty in the list of exiles; but the fate which now overtook him seems to have sprung from the fears of the Lacedaemonians, or perhaps from the personal hatred of Agis. After the battle of Aegospotami, Pharnabazus permitted the Athenian exile to live in Phrygia, and assigned him a revenue for his maintenance. But a despatch came out from Sparta to Lysander, directing that Alcibiades should be put to death. Pharnabazus carried out the order. The house of Alcibiades was surrounded and set on fire. He rushed out with drawn sword upon his assailants, who shrank from the attack, but slew him from a distance with their javelins. Thus perished miserably, in the vigour of his life, one of the most remarkable, but not one of the greatest, characters in Grecian history. With abilities which might have rendered him the greatest benefactor of Athens, he contrived to attain the infamous distinction of being that citizen who had inflicted upon her the most signal damage.

Death of Alcibiades.

Meantime an altered state of feeling was springing up in Greece. The balance of power was now reversed, and the supremacy of Sparta was even more clearly marked than that of Athens had been. Athens had fallen into the second rank of Greek states; her empire, with all the fear and jealousy which it had inspired, had passed chiefly into the hands of Sparta. Lysander had risen to an extraordinary height of power.

The Spartans had established the oligarchical principle in the cities on the coast of Ionia and the Hellespont as at Athens. Commissions of ten citizens called *Decarchies*, devoted to the Spartan interest, ruled in each town, as the Thirty did at Athens. They were supported and controlled by a Spartan garrison, under a governor called a *Harmost*. All these arrangements were in the hands of Lysander, who thus in the name of Sparta exercised almost uncontrolled authority, and began to exact tribute as the Athenians had done in their empire. It was clear that, instead of the freedom promised by the Spartans, a new imperial rule had been established; and these oppressions were rendered still more intolerable by Lysander's overweening pride and harshness. Though he stopped short of actual treason, his conduct was in other points curiously like that of Pausanias after the Persian war. He ruled as he pleased, directly, or through the *harmosts* or governors whom he appointed over the Asiatic cities: he affected the state of a prince; in some places he received divine honours, and altars were consecrated in his name. The Spartans began gradually to regard him with suspicion: first some of his arrangements for Asiatic towns were cancelled, and soon after he was recalled. He went for a time to Libya and then returned to Sparta.

Meantime a reaction was beginning at Athens. Many of the Athenian exiles had found refuge in Boeotia: and one of them, Thrasybūlus, with the aid of Ismenias and other Theban citizens, starting from Thebes at the head of a small band of exiles, seized the fortress of Phylé, in the passes of Mount Parnes and on the direct road to Athens. The Thirty marched out to attack Thrasybulus, at the head of the Lacedaemonian garrison and a strong Athenian force. But their attack was repulsed with considerable loss. Shortly afterwards Thrasybulus marched from Phylé to Peiraeus, which was now an open town, and seized upon it without opposition. When the whole force of the Thirty, including the Lacedaemonians, marched on the following day to attack him, he retired to the hill of Munychia, the citadel of Peiraeus, the only approach to which was by a steep ascent. Here he drew up his hoplites in files of ten deep, posting behind them his slingers and dartmen. He exhorted his men to stand patiently till the enemy came within

Thrasybulus and the exiles defeat the Thirty, 403 B.C.

reach of the missiles. At the first discharge the assailing column seemed to waver; and Thrasybulus, taking advantage of their confusion, charged down the hill, and completely routed them, killing seventy, among whom was Critias himself. The loss of their leader had thrown the majority into the hands of the party formerly led by Theramenes, who resolved to depose the Thirty and constitute a new oligarchy of Ten. Some of the Thirty were re-elected into this body; but the more violent colleagues of Critias were deposed, and retired for safety to Eleusis. The new government of the Ten sent to Sparta for aid; and a similar application was made at the same time from those survivors of the Thirty who were at Eleusis. Lysander hastened to Athens at the head of a Lacedaemonian force; but, fortunately, the jealousy of the Lacedaemonians towards Lysander led them at this critical juncture to supersede him in the command. King Pausanias, who was in favour of moderation, and particularly disliked the tyranny and arrogance of Lysander, was appointed by the Ephors to lead an army into Attica, and when he encamped in the Academus he was joined by Lysander and his forces. It was known at Athens that the views of Pausanias were unfavourable to the proceedings of Lysander; and the presence of the Spartan king enabled the citizens to express their real wishes without fear. The Ten were deposed, and a second board of ten more moderate citizens was appointed to treat with the Spartans. The Ephors and the Lacedaemonian Assembly referred the question to a committee of fifteen,* of whom Pausanias was one. The decision of this board was: That the exiles in Peiraeus should be readmitted to Athens, and that there should be an amnesty for all that had passed, except as regarded the Thirty and the Ten.

When these terms were settled and sworn to, the Peloponnesians quitted Attica; and Thrasybulus and the exiles, marching in solemn procession from Peiraeus to Athens, ascended to the Acropolis and offered up a solemn sacrifice and thanksgiving. An assembly of the people was then held, and the democracy was restored. This important counter-revolution took place in the spring of 403 B.C. The archons, the senate of 500, the public assembly, and the dicasteries seem to have been reconstituted in the same form

Democracy restored.

* According to one account, ten.

as before the capture of the city. Archīnus is mentioned as one who helped most to bring about a just and moderate settlement. The reconciliation with the oligarchs who had fled to Eleusis, and their readmission to the city, was effected two years afterwards.

Thus was terminated the despotism of the Thirty. The year which contained their rule was not named after the archon, but was termed "the year of anarchy." The first archon drawn after their fall was Eucleides, who gave his name to a year ever afterwards memorable among the Athenians. **Archonship of Eucleides.**

For the next few years the only memorable event in the history of Athens is the death of Socrates. This great philosopher was born in the year 469 B.C., at the deme of Alōpĕcê, near Athens. His father, Sophroniscus, was a sculptor, and Socrates was brought up to, and for some time practised, the same profession. He was married to Xanthippé, who is described as peevish and quarrelsome; and he had three sons, of whom nothing is recorded. His physical constitution was healthy, robust, and wonderfully enduring. He was indifferent alike to heat and cold: the same scanty and homely clothing sufficed him both in summer and winter; and even in the campaign of Potidaea, amidst the snows of a Thracian winter, he went barefooted. In features he is represented as being singularly, and even grotesquely, ugly, with a flat nose, thick lips, and prominent eyes, like a Silenus, or satyr. He served with credit as an hoplite at Potidaea (432 B.C.), Delium (424 B.C.), and Amphipolis (422 B.C.); but it was not till late in life, in the year 406 B.C., that he filled any political office. He was one of the Prytanes when, after the battle of Arginusae, Callixenus submitted his proposition respecting the six generals to the public Assembly, and his refusal on that occasion to put an unconstitutional question to the vote has been already noticed. He believed that he had a religious mission, and thought that he constantly heard a prophetic or supernatural voice, interfering at times when he was about to do anything, not telling him what to do, but only what to avoid. This guidance, like the prompting of conscience, he always followed. It was spoken of by later writers as the Daemon or Genius of Socrates. He never *wrote* anything, but he made oral instruction the great **Socrates.**

business of his life. Early in the morning he frequented the public walks, the gymnasia, and the schools; thence he adjourned to the market-place at its most crowded hours, and thus spent the whole day in conversing with young and old, rich and poor, —with all, in short, who felt any desire for his instructions.

That a reformer and destroyer, like Socrates, of ancient prejudices and fallacies which passed current under the name of wisdom should have raised up a host of enemies is only what might be expected; but in his case this feeling was increased by the manner in which he fulfilled his mission. The oracle of Delphi, in response to a question put by his friend Chaerĕphon, had affirmed that no man was wiser than Socrates. No one was more perplexed at this declaration than Socrates himself, since he did not claim to have any wisdom at all. However, he determined to test the accuracy of the priestess, for, though he had little wisdom, others might have still less. He therefore selected a politician who enjoyed a high reputation for wisdom, and soon discovered, by his method of cross-examination, that this statesman's reputed wisdom was no wisdom at all. But of this he could not convince the man himself; whence Socrates concluded that he was wiser than the politician, since he was at least aware of his own ignorance. The same experiment was tried with the same result on various classes of men; on poets, mechanics, and especially on the rhetors and sophists, the chief of all the pretenders to wisdom, and that they did not like being convicted of ignorance may easily be imagined.

The first indication of his unpopularity is the attack made upon him by Aristophanes in the "Clouds" in the year 423 B.C. That attack, however, seems to have ended with the laugh, and for many years Socrates continued his teaching without hindrance. It was not till B.C. 399 that the indictment was preferred against him which cost him his life. In that year, Melētus, a leather-seller, seconded by Anўtus, a poet, and Lycon, a rhetor, accused him of impiety in not worshipping the gods of the city, and in introducing new deities, and also of being a corrupter of youth. Blameless though he was, it no doubt told against him in the popular opinion that Alcibiades and Critias had been among his pupils. Socrates made no preparations for his defence, and seems, indeed, not to have desired an acquittal. But although he addressed the dicasts in a bold uncompromising tone, he was

condemned only by a small majority of five or six in a court composed of between five and six hundred dicasts. After the verdict was pronounced, he was entitled, according to the practice of the Athenian courts, to make some counter-proposition in place of the penalty of death, which the accusers had demanded; and if he had done so with any show of submission, it is probable that the sentence would have been mitigated. But his tone after the verdict was higher than before. Instead of a fine, he asserted that he ought to be maintained in the Prytanēum at the public expense, as a public benefactor. This enraged the dicasts, and he was condemned to death.

It happened that the vessel which proceeded to Delos on the annual deputation to the festival had sailed the day before his condemnation; and during its absence it was unlawful to put any one to death. Socrates was thus kept in prison during thirty days, till the return of the vessel. He spent the interval in philosophical conversations with his friends. Crito, one of these, arranged a scheme for his escape by bribing the gaoler; but Socrates, as might be expected from the tone of his defence, resolutely refused to save his life by a breach of the law. His last discourse, on the day of his death, turned on the immortality of the soul. With a firm and cheerful countenance he drank the cup of hemlock amidst his sorrowing and weeping friends. His last words were addressed to Crito: "Crito, we owe a cock to Asclepius; discharge the debt, and by no means omit it." *

* The cock was specially sacrificed to Asclepius (in Latin, Aesculapius). It is possible that the cock was regarded as the herald of dawn (*i.e.* of a new life). It may be noted also that the Greeks sacrificed a cock to avert stormy winds, and some think that Asclepius was supposed to be a god of the winds.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE GREEKS UNDER CYRUS, AND RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND, 401–400 B.C.

THE help which Cyrus had given to the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnesian war led to a remarkable episode in Grecian history. This was the expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, in which the superiority of Grecian to Asiatic soldiers was so strikingly shown.

The death of Darius Nothus, king of Persia, took place 404 B.C., shortly before the battle of Aegospotami. Cyrus, who was present at his father's death, was charged by Tissaphernes with plotting against his elder brother Artaxerxes, who succeeded to the throne. The accusation was believed by Artaxerxes. He ordered the arrest of Cyrus, and would have put him to death, but for the intercession of his mother, Parysătis, who persuaded him not only to spare his brother, but to confirm him in his former government. Cyrus was not won over by this lenity. He was now moved not only by his own restless ambition, but by the danger which he ran as a suspected rival, and he resented the action of Tissaphernes. He returned to Sardis fully resolved to make an effort to dethrone his brother.

Ambition of Cyrus.

Cyrus had seen enough of Greek soldiers to understand that they would do him good service in his enterprise, and it happened to be a time when Greek mercenaries were easy to find. Many Greeks, bred up in the practice of war during the long struggle between that city and Sparta, were now unemployed, whilst many more had been driven into exile by the establishment of the Spartan oligarchies in the conquered cities. Under the pretence of a private war with the satrap Tissaphernes, Cyrus enlisted large numbers in his service. The Greek in whom he

placed most confidence was Clearchus, a Spartan, and formerly harmost of Byzantium, who had been condemned to death by the Spartan authorities for disobedience to their orders.

Early in the year 401 B.C. his enterprise was ripe for execution. The Greek levies were then withdrawn from the various towns in which they were distributed, and concentrated in Sardis, to the number of about 8000; and in the spring of this year Cyrus marched from Sardis with them, and with an army of 100,000 Asiatics. The object of the expedition was proclaimed to be an attack upon the predatory hill-tribes of Pisidia; its real destination was a secret to every one except Cyrus himself and Clearchus. Among the Greek soldiers was Xenophon, an Athenian knight, to whom we owe a narrative of the expedition. He went as a volunteer, at the invitation of his friend Proxĕnus, a Boeotian, and one of the generals of Cyrus.

Cyrus gathers troops at Sardis, 401 B.C.

The march of Cyrus was directed through Lydia and Phrygia. After passing Colossae he arrived at Celaenae, where he was joined by more Greek troops, the number of whom now amounted to 11,000 hoplites and 2000 peltasts. The line of march, which had been hitherto straight upon Pisidia, was now directed northwards. Cyrus passed in succession the Phrygian towns of Peltae, Cerămon Agŏra, the "Plain of Caÿster" (probably Julia, near Ipsus), Thymbrium, Tyriaeum, and Iconium, the last city in Phrygia. Thence he proceeded through Lycaonia to Dana, and across Mount Taurus into Cilicia.

March of Cyrus.

On arriving at Tarsus, a city on the coast of Cilicia, the Greeks suspected that they had been deceived, and that the expedition was designed against the Persian king. Cyrus assured them that his design was to march against his enemy, Abrocŏmas, satrap of Syria, who was encamped on the banks of the Euphrates; and the Greeks, though they still suspected that this was not all, contented themselves with this answer, the more readily, because Cyrus promised to raise their pay from one daric to one daric and a half a month.* The whole army then marched forwards to Issus, the last town in Cilicia. Here they met the fleet, which brought them a reinforcement of

* The Persian gold daric weighed about 130 grains, and its value would be about 22 shillings.

Walker & Boutall sc.

1100 Greek soldiers, thus raising the Grecian force to about 14,000 men.

Abrocomas, who commanded for the Great King in Syria and Phoenicia, alarmed at the rapid progress of Cyrus, fled before him with all his army, reported as 300,000 strong; abandoning the impregnable pass situated one day's march from Issus, and known as the Gates of Syria. Marching in safety through this pass, the army next reached Myriandrus, a seaport of Phoenicia. From this place Cyrus struck off into the interior, over Mount Amānus. Twelve days' march brought him to Thapsăcus on the Euphrates, where for the first time he openly declared that he was marching to Babylon against his brother Artaxerxes. The water happened to be very low, scarcely reaching to the breast; and Abrocomas made no attempt to dispute the passage. The army now entered upon the desert, where the Greeks were struck with the novel sights which met their view, and amused themselves with the chase of wild asses, antelopes, and ostriches. After several days of toilsome march the army at length reached Pylae, the entrance into the cultivated plains of Babylonia.

At this point it became clear that a great army was moving in their front. The exaggerated reports of deserters stated it at 1,200,000; its real strength was about 900,000.

Cyrus opposed by the army of Artaxerxes.

In a characteristic address Cyrus exhorted the Greeks to take no heed of the multitude of their enemies; they would find in them, he affirmed, nothing but numbers and noise, and, if they could bring themselves to despise these, they would soon find of what worthless stuff the natives were composed. The army then marched cautiously forwards, in order of battle, along the left bank of the Euphrates. They soon came upon a huge trench, 30 feet broad and 18 deep, which Artaxerxes had caused to be dug across the plain for a length of about 42 English miles, reaching from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between it and the river was left only a narrow passage about 20 feet broad; yet Cyrus and his army found with surprise that this pass was left undefended. It seemed to them that the enemy dared not face them, and they pressed on with little precaution; but on the next day but one, at a place called Cunaxa, they were surprised with the intelligence that Artaxerxes, who had chosen the ground which suited

him best, was approaching with all his forces. Cyrus immediately drew up his army in order of battle. The Greeks were posted on the right, whilst Cyrus himself, surrounded by a picked body-guard of 600 Persian cuirassiers, took up his station in the centre. When the enemy were about half a mile distant, the Greeks charged them with the usual war-shout. They had been directed by Cyrus to attack the centre, where Artaxerxes was posted. This would very likely have won the day; but Clearchus unfortunately clung to the Greek principle of not exposing his right flank, and therefore attacked the enemy's extreme left. The Persians did not await their onset, but turned and fled. Tissaphernes and his cavalry alone offered any resistance; the remainder of the Persian left was routed without a blow. But the centre and right of Artaxerxes still remained unbroken; and that monarch ordered his right wing to wheel and encompass the army of Cyrus. No sooner did Cyrus perceive this movement than with his body-guard he impetuously charged the enemy's centre, where Artaxerxes himself stood, surrounded with 6000 horse. These were routed and dispersed, and were followed so eagerly by the guards of Cyrus, that he was left almost alone with the select few called his "Table Companions." Thus brought at last face to face with his brother Artaxerxes, maddened at once by rage and ambition, he exclaimed, "I see the man!" and rushed at him with his handful of companions. Hurling his javelin at his brother, he wounded him in the breast, but was himself overborne by numbers and slain.

Battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C.

Meanwhile Clearchus had pursued the flying enemy fully three miles; but hearing that the king's troops were victorious on the left and centre, he retraced his steps, again routing the Persians who tried to intercept him. The Greeks bivouacked in their camp, which they found plundered and without provisions. It was not till the following day that they learned the death of Cyrus. They wished that Ariaeus, who now commanded the army of Cyrus, should claim the Persian crown, and offered to support him; but Ariaeus answered that the Persian grandees would not tolerate such a claim; that he intended to retreat; and that, if the Greeks wished to accompany him, they must join him during the following night.

The next day a message arrived from the Persian king, with a proposal to treat for peace on equal terms. Clearchus made this an opportunity for procuring food. "Tell your king," said he to the envoys, "that we must first fight; for we have had no breakfast, nor will any man presume to talk to the Greeks about a truce without first providing for them a breakfast." This was agreed to, and they presently received a visit from Tissaphernes, who pretended to be their friend, and said that he had come from the Great King to inquire the reason of their expedition. Clearchus replied—what was indeed true of the greater part of the army—that they had not come hither with any design to attack the king, but had been enticed by Cyrus under false pretences; that their only desire at present was to return home; but that, if any obstacle was offered, they were prepared to fight. In a day or two Tissaphernes returned, and told them that he had with great difficulty obtained permission *to save* the Greek army; that he was ready to lead them on their homeward way, and to supply them with provisions. This was agreed to, and the march was begun. After three days they passed through the wall of Media, which was 100 feet high and 20 feet broad. Two days more brought them to the Tigris, which they crossed on the following morning by a bridge of boats. They then marched northward, arriving in four days at the river Physcus and a large city called Opis. Six days' further march through a deserted part of Media brought them to some villages belonging to Queen Parysatis, which, out of enmity to her as the supporter of Cyrus, Tissaphernes gave up to be plundered by the Greeks. From thence they proceeded in five days to the river Zabătus, or Greater Zab. Here they halted three days. For some time there had been a feeling of mistrust and ill-will between the Greeks and Persians, and Clearchus demanded an interview. Tissaphernes, with affected friendship, promised to deliver to the Greek generals, on the following day, the calumniators who had set the two armies at variance. But when Clearchus, with four other generals, accompanied by some captains and 200 soldiers, entered the Persian camp, according to appointment, the captains and soldiers were immediately cut down; the five generals were seized, put into irons, and sent to the Persian

Negotiations with the king: treachery of Tissaphernes.

court. After a short imprisonment, four of them were beheaded; the fifth, Menon, who pretended that he had betrayed his colleagues into the hands of Tissaphernes, was at first spared; but after a year's detention was put to death with torture.

The situation of the Greeks seemed desperate. They were considerably more than a thousand miles from home, in a hostile and unknown country, hemmed in on all sides by rivers and mountains, without generals, without guides, without provisions. Xenophon was the first to rouse them to prompt action. His vigorous and eloquent speech won him favour with the troops, and he was one of the five chosen as generals. The qualities which he displayed soon secured him the chief direction of the march.

Retreat of the Greeks.

The Greeks crossed the Greater Zab, and passed by the ruined cities of Larissa and Mespīla on the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Nineveh. The march from Mespila to the mountainous country of the Cardūchi occupied several days, in which the Greeks suffered much from the attacks of the enemy.

Their future route was now a matter of serious perplexity. On their left lay the Tigris, so deep that they could not fathom it with their spears; while in their front rose the mountains of the Cardūchi, which came so near the river as hardly to leave a passage for its waters. They determined to strike into these mountains, on the farther side of which lay Armenia, where both the Tigris and the Euphrates might be forded near their sources. After a difficult march of seven days, exposed to dangerous attacks from the hill-tribes, the army at length emerged into Armenia. It was now the month of December, and they were crossing a high table-land. At one time they were overtaken by deep falls of snow, which almost buried them in their open bivouacs. Hence a five days' march brought them to the eastern branch of the Euphrates. Crossing the river, they proceeded on the other side of it over plains covered with a deep snow, and in the face of a biting north wind. Here many of the slaves and beasts of burthen, and even a few of the soldiers, fell victims to the cold. After a week's halt they proceeded on their way, ascending the banks of the Phasis, not the celebrated river of Colchis, but the Armenian river, in other parts of its course called the Araxes.

From thence they fought their way through the country of

the Taŏchi and Chalÿbes. They next reached the country of the Scythĭni, in whose territory they found abundance in a large and populous city called Gymnias. The chief of this place having engaged to conduct them within sight of the Euxine, they proceeded for five days under his guidance. At length, as they gained the top of a ridge, the sea burst on the view of the vanguard. The men proclaimed their joy by loud shouts of "The sea! the sea!" and the cry was taken up by the rest of the troops as they came up. A few days' march through the country of the Macrōnes and Colchians at length brought them to what few of them had ever hoped to see again—a Greek city and the sea. By the inhabitants of Trapezus or Trebizond, on the Euxine, they were hospitably received, and rested in some Colchian villages near the town for thirty days.

The Greeks reach the sea-coast.

The most difficult part of the retreat of the Ten Thousand was now accomplished, and it is unnecessary to trace the remainder of their route. They had proved the inability of Asiatic troops to cope with much inferior numbers of Greeks, or even to offer any effectual opposition to their march, and the lesson was not forgotten by Philip and Alexander. After many adventures they succeeded in reaching Byzantium, and they subsequently engaged to serve in a war which Sparta had just declared against the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

In the spring of 399 B.C., Thibron, the Spartan commander, arrived at Pergamum, and the remainder of the Ten Thousand Greeks were incorporated in his army. Xenophon himself for several years followed a life like that of the *condottieri* in more modern times. At one time he was in the service of the Thracian king Seuthes, but most of his campaigning was with the Spartans; and he even fought under Agesilaus at Coronēa. After this he lived with his wife and children for many years at Scillus, in Elis, employed in writing and hunting. The Eleans expelled him in 371 B.C., after the battle of Leuctra, when the Spartan influence was less powerful, and he seems to have ended his life at Corinth. The sentence of exile against him at Athens was repealed about this time, but it is not known that he ever returned to his own country. It is possible that the death of his old master Socrates may have combined with his long association with the Spartans to give him a distaste for Athenian life.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA, 404–371 B.C.

AFTER the fall of Athens Sparta stood clearly at the head of all Hellenic states. In the various cities which had belonged to the Athenian empire, Lysander established, as was described on p. 139, a *Decarchy*, or Council of Ten, subject to the control of a Spartan *Harmost*, or governor. The decarchies were not retained when the influence of Lysander in Asia Minor came to an end; but harmosts continued to be placed in every state subject to their empire. The government of the harmosts was corrupt and oppressive, and conduced to a feeling of resentment against Spartan rule which was growing up throughout Greece. An instance of the harshness with which Sparta vindicated her claims to ascendency was shown in her war with Elis, 401–400 B.C. The Eleans had given offence by imposing a fine upon Sparta for sending troops into the territory of Lepreum during the truce which belonged to the Olympic festival, and afterwards by refusing leave to the Spartans, while the fine was unpaid, to join in the Olympic games, and to King Agis to sacrifice at Olympia after a victory over Athens. The Spartans under Agis now overran and plundered the country of Elis, and forced the Eleans to a humiliating peace, by which they abandoned Triphylia, and had to give up all hopes of establishing a seaport and a navy.

Power of Sparta.

On the death of Agis in 398 B.C., his half-brother Agesilāus was appointed king instead of Leotychides, the son of Agis. This was mainly effected by Lysander, who believed—wrongly, as it turned out—that he had influence enough over Agesilaus to guide him as he pleased, and so under the name of another to be in reality king himself.

Agesilāus becomes king.

Agesilaus was now forty years of age. He was courageous, energetic, capable of bearing all sorts of hardship and fatigue, simple and frugal in his mode of life, courteous and popular in manner. His personal defects at first stood in the way of his promotion. He was not only low in stature, but also lame of one leg; and there was an ancient oracle which warned the Spartans to beware of "a lame reign." The ingenuity of Lysander contrived to overcome this objection by interpreting a lame reign to mean not any bodily defect in the king, but the reign of one who was not a genuine descendant of Heracles. Once possessed of power, Agesilaus manifested ability and energy which had never been suspected, and showed that he had no intention of being led by Lysander.

A new state of things had sprung up at Sparta since the spoils of Lysander in Asia had brought gold into the country. Nominally the old simplicity and hardihood of life remained, but really the distinctions of wealth were recognized and sought after. The line between the higher and lower classes of citizens was more clearly marked. As prices rose the poorer could not pay their contributions to the *syssitia*, or common table, and a body of discontented citizens was ready to combine with the Perioeci and the Helots to get rid of oppressive burdens. A revolution was nearly brought about by Cinădon, 398 B.C., but the attempt was frustrated and the ringleaders were put to death.

Abroad the Spartan policy had been influenced by the discovery that the Persian wealth, which had enabled them to overthrow Athens, was almost a necessary help to the maintenance of their power. This feeling had guided them in their dealings with Cyrus; but after Cunaxa it was clear that they could not avoid a breach with Persia. They had aided in the attempt to dethrone Artaxerxes; and Tissaphernes, who had been rewarded for his fidelity with the satrapy of Cyrus in addition to his own, no sooner returned to his government than he attacked the Ionian cities, then under the protection of Sparta. A considerable force under Thibron was despatched to their assistance, and, as related in the preceding chapter, was joined by the remnant of the Greeks who had served under Cyrus. Thibron, however, proved so inefficient a commander, that he was superseded at

Affairs in Asia.

the end of 399 or beginning of 398 B.C., and Dercyllidas appointed in his place. But though at first successful against Pharnabazus in Aeolis, Dercyllidas was surprised in Caria in such an unfavourable position that he would have suffered severely but for the timidity of Tissaphernes, who was afraid to venture upon an action. Under these circumstances an armistice was agreed to for the purpose of treating for a peace (397 B.C.).

Pharnabazus availed himself of this armistice to make active preparations for a renewal of the war. He obtained large reinforcements of Persian troops, and began to organize a fleet in Phoenicia and Cilicia. But it was recognized by the Persians that their fleet would have a better chance of success under a Greek, and especially under an Athenian, commander. They found the admiral for this service in Conon, who, after the battle of Aegospotami, had fled with eight triremes to Evagŏras, King of Cyprus. Evagoras regarded himself as sprung from the family of Teucer, brother of Ajax, and therefore as being of Greek nationality, and closely connected with Athens. He had wrested the dominion of Cyprus from the Phoenician dynasty which held it, and aimed at re-establishing Greek life and culture in his island. In this he was supported and aided by Conon, who now gladly accepted the opportunity of using a Persian fleet to overthrow the power of Sparta, and restore that of Athens.

Expedition of Agesilaus to Asia.

It was the news of these preparations that induced Agesilaus, on the suggestion of Lysander, to prepare an expedition against the Persians. He proposed to take with him only 30 full Spartan citizens, or peers, to act as a sort of council, together with 2000 Neodamodes, or enfranchised Helots, and 6000 hoplites of the allies. Lysander intended to be the leader of the 30 Spartans, and expected through them to be the virtual commander of the expedition of which Agesilaus was nominally the head.

Since the time of Agamemnon no Greek king had led an army into Asia; and Agesilaus studiously availed himself of the prestige of that enterprise in order to attract recruits to his standard. The Spartan kings claimed to inherit the sceptre of Agamemnon; and, with rather foolish ostentation, Agesilaus first took his fleet to Aulis, intending there to imitate the

memorable sacrifice of the Homeric hero. But as he had neglected to ask the permission of the Thebans, and conducted the sacrifice with no regard to local custom and without the services of the local priest, the Thebans expelled him by armed force—an insult which he never forgave.

Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus in 396 B.C., and took the command in Asia. He demanded the complete independence of the Greek cities in Asia; and in order that there might be time to communicate with the Persian court, the armistice was renewed for three months. During this interval, Lysander, by his arrogance and pretensions, offended both Agesilaus and the thirty Spartans. Agesilaus, determined to uphold his dignity, subjected Lysander to so many humiliations that he was at last fain to request his dismissal from Ephesus, and was accordingly sent to the Hellespont, where he did good service to the Spartan interests.

Meanwhile Tissaphernes, having received large reinforcements, sent a message to Agesilaus before the armistice had expired, ordering him to quit Asia. Agesilaus made it appear that he was about to attack Tissaphernes in Caria; and then suddenly turned northwards into Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazus, and marched without opposition to the neighbourhood of Dascylium, the residence of the satrap himself. He was prevented by the Persian cavalry from carrying his raid further, and went into winter quarters at Ephesus, where he employed himself in organizing a body of cavalry to compete with the Persians. In the spring of 395 B.C. he gave out that he should march direct upon Sardis. Tissaphernes, suspecting another feint, now dispersed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. But this time Agesilaus marched as he had announced, and in three days arrived unopposed on the banks of the Pactōlus, before the Persian cavalry could be recalled. When they at last came up, they were put to flight by the newly raised Grecian horse, supported by the peltasts; many were drowned in the Pactolus, and their camp was plundered.

Agesilaus now pushed his ravages up to the very gates of Sardis, the residence of Tissaphernes. But the career of that timid and treacherous satrap was drawing to a close. The queen-mother, Parysätis, who had succeeded in regaining her influence over Artaxerxes, caused an order to be sent down

from Susa for his execution. He was seized in a bath at Colossae, and beheaded. Tithraustes, who had carried out this order, succeeded Tissaphernes in the satrapy, and opened negotiations with Agesilaus, and, by giving him a large subsidy for the payment of his troops, persuaded him to transfer them into the satrapy of Pharnabazus.

Here Agesilaus received a new commission from home, appointing him *nauarch*, or head of the naval as well as of the land force—two commands rarely united in a single Spartan. He named his brother-in-law, Peisander, commander of the fleet. But in the following year (394 B.C.), whilst he was forming schemes of conquest like those which Alexander the Great carried out, and preparing an expedition into the interior of Asia Minor, he was recalled home to avert the dangers which threatened Sparta.

Movement in Greece against Sparta.

The jealousy and ill-will with which the newly acquired empire of the Spartans was regarded by the other Grecian states had not escaped the notice of the Persians; and when Tithraustes succeeded to the satrapy of Tissaphernes, he resolved to avail himself of this feeling by exciting a war against Sparta in the heart of Greece itself. With this view he sent Timocrates, a Rhodian, to the leading Grecian cities with a sum of 50 talents to be distributed among the chief men in each for the purpose of bringing them over to the views of Persia. Timocrates was successful in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos.

War between Sparta and Thebes. Lysander slain at Haliartus, 395 B.C.

Hostilities were at first confined to Sparta and Thebes. A quarrel having arisen between the Opuntian Locrians and the Phocians about a strip of border land, the Locrians obtained aid from Thebes, the Phocians from Sparta. Lysander, who took an active part in promoting the war, was directed to attack the town of Haliartus; and it was arranged that King Pausanias should join him there, with the main body of the Peloponnesian army.

Nothing could more strikingly show the change of feeling in Greece than that the Thebans now asked, and obtained, help from their old enemies, the Athenians. Lysander arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. Here, in a sally made by the citizens,

opportunely supported by the unexpected arrival of a body of Thebans, the Spartans were routed and Lysander was slain. Thus, when Pausanias at last came up, he found no army to unite with; and as an Athenian force had arrived, he took the humiliating step—always deemed a confession of inferiority—of demanding a truce in order to bury the dead who had fallen in the battle. Even this the Thebans would not grant except on the condition that the Lacedaemonians should quit their territory. With these terms Pausanias was forced to comply; and after burying Lysander and his fallen comrades, led his troops home; but, afraid to face the public indignation of the Spartans, he took sanctuary in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. He was condemned in his absence, and his kingship passed to his son Agesipolis.

The enemies of Sparta took fresh courage from this disaster tc her arms. Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Thebes made alliance against her. The league was soon joined by the Euboeans, the Acarnanians, and other Grecian states. In the spring of 394 B.C. the allies assembled at Corinth, and the war, which had been hitherto regarded as merely Boeotian, was now called the CORINTHIAN. It was this threatening aspect of affairs which determined the Ephors to recall Agesilaus.

Corinthian War.

The allies were soon able to take the field with a force of 24,000 hoplites, of whom one-fourth were Athenians, together with a considerable body of light troops and cavalry. The Lacedaemonians had also made the most active preparations. A battle was fought near Corinth, in which the Spartans, under the regent Aristodēmus (Agesipolis being a mere lad), defeated their opponents, and drove them with considerable loss into Corinth, while on the other wing their Peloponnesian allies were routed. This battle, called the battle of Corinth, was fought in July, 394 B.C.

Agesilaus, who had relinquished with a heavy heart his projected expedition into Asia, was now on his homeward march. By the promise of rewards he had persuaded the most efficient soldiers in his army to accompany him, amongst whom were many of the Ten Thousand, with Xenophon at their head. At Amphipolis he heard of the victory at Corinth, and is said to have felt more sorrow at the death of so many Greeks who

might have acted together against Persia, than joy at the Spartan victory. Having forced his way through the Thessalian cavalry, he crossed Mount Othrys, and marched unopposed the rest of the way through the pass of Thermopylæ to the frontiers of Phocis and Boeotia. Here the evil tidings reached him of the defeat and death of his brother-in-law, Peisander, in the great sea-fight off Cnidus. Fearing the impression which such news might produce upon his men, he gave out that the Lacedaemonian fleet had won; and, having offered sacrifice as if for a victory, he ordered an advance.

Battle of Coronea, 394 B.C.

The two armies met in the plain of Coronēa. The Thebans succeeded in driving in the Orchomenians, who formed the left wing of the army of Agesilaus, and penetrated as far as the baggage in the rear. But on the right and in the centre Agesilaus was victorious, and the Thebans now saw themselves cut off from their companions, who had retreated and taken up a position on Mount Helicon. Facing about and forming in deep and compact order, the Thebans sought to rejoin the main body, but they were opposed by Agesilaus and his troops. The shock of the conflicting masses which ensued was one of the most terrible recorded in Grecian warfare. The shields of the foremost ranks were shattered, and their spears broken, so that daggers became the only available arm. Agesilaus, who was in the front ranks, was flung down, trodden on, and covered with wounds; but the devoted courage of the fifty Spartans forming his body-guard rescued him from death. The Thebans finally forced their way through, but not without severe loss. The Thebans acknowledged their defeat by demanding a truce for the burial of their dead; but the victory which Agesilaus could claim was indecisive, and he had lost too many men to make any use of it.

Battle of Cnidus, August, 394 B.C.

When Agesilaus quitted Asia he left Peisander, as commander of the Spartan fleet, to oppose Conon. Peisander, an inexperienced admiral, had 85 ships; Conon had more than 90, partly Phoenician and partly Greek, the Greek contingent being mostly from Athens. Pharnabazus was in the fleet, but the chief direction was given to Conon. Off Cnidus, when the two fleets met, the Spartan fleet was completely defeated, with the

loss of 50 ships, and Peisander was killed. The news of this great disaster reached Agesilaus, as has been mentioned, shortly before the battle of Coronēa.

Thus in less than two months the Spartans had fought two battles on land, and one at sea; at Corinth, Coronēa, and Cnidus. But, though they had been victorious in the land engagements, they were so little decisive as to lead to no important result; whilst their defeat at Cnidus was followed by the loss of nearly all their maritime empire. For as Conon and Pharnabazus sailed with their victorious fleet from island to island, and from port to port, their approach was everywhere the signal for the flight or expulsion of the Spartan harmosts. Sestus and Abȳdus, held by Dercyllīdas, alone remained of all the Spartan conquests in Asia and the Hellespont.

In the spring of the following year (393 B.C.) Conon and Pharnabazus sailed to the isthmus of Corinth, then occupied as a central post by the allies. Conon dexterously availed himself of the hatred of Pharnabazus towards Sparta to procure a boon for his native city. He obtained leave to employ the seamen, Asiatic as well as Greek, in rebuilding the fortifications of Peiraeus and the long walls of Athens. Pharnabazus also granted a large sum for the same purpose; and Conon, having thus secured Athens, sailed to the islands to lay again the foundations of an Athenian maritime empire.

Long Walls rebuilt by Conon.

During the remainder of this and the whole of the following year (392 B.C.) the war was carried on in the Corinthian territory. One of the most important events at this time was the destruction of a whole Lacedaemonian *mora*, or battalion, by the light-armed mercenaries of the Athenian Iphicrātes. For the preceding two years Iphicrates had commanded these peltasts,* who had been first organized by Conon after his return to Athens. For this force Iphicrates introduced improved arms and tactics which form an epoch in the Grecian art of war. His object was to combine as far as possible the advantages of the hoplites and of light-armed troops. He substituted a linen corselet for the coat of mail worn by the hoplites, and lessened the shield, while he rendered the light javelin and

Success of Iphicrates against the Spartans.

* So called from the pelta, or kind of shield which they carried.

short sword of the peltasts more effective by lengthening them both one-half. These troops soon proved very effective. After several successes he ventured to make a sally from Corinth, and attacked a Spartan *mora*, or battalion, in flank and rear. So many fell under the darts and arrows of the peltasts that the Spartan captain called a halt, and ordered his hoplites to rush forward and drive off the assailants. But their heavy arms were unfitted for the work; nor did the Spartan cavalry, which now came up, produce any better effect. At length they succeeded in reaching an eminence, where they endeavoured to make a stand; but at this moment Callias arrived with some Athenian hoplites from Corinth, whereupon the already disheartened Spartans broke and fled in confusion, with a loss of two hundred and fifty men.

The maritime war was prosecuted with vigour. Thrasybūlus, and after his death Iphicrates, were successful upon the coast of Asia Minor, and made the Athenians again masters of the Hellespont. Under these circumstances the Spartans resolved to spare no efforts to regain the good will of the Persians. Antalcīdas, their commander on the Asiatic coast, entered into negotiations with Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes in the satrapy of Ionia, in order to bring about a general peace under the mediation of Persia. Antalcidas went to Susa, and prevailed on King Artaxerxes to adopt the peace, and to declare war against those who should reject it. He then returned with Tiribazus to the coasts of Asia Minor, armed with these powers, and provided with an ample force to carry them into execution. In addition to the entire fleet of Persia, Dionysius of Syracuse had placed 20 triremes at the service of the Lacedaemonians; and Antalcidas now sailed to the Hellespont, where Iphicrates and the Athenians were still predominant. The overwhelming force of Antalcidas, the largest that had been seen in the Hellespont since the battle of Aegospotami, rendered all resistance hopeless. The supplies of corn from the Euxine no longer found their way to Athens, and the Athenians began to long for peace. As without the assistance of Athens it seemed hopeless for the other allies to struggle against Sparta, all Greece was inclined to come to terms.

Spartan negotiations with Persia.

Deputies from the Greek states were summoned to meet

Tiribazus, who read to them the following terms of a peace under the royal seal of Persia: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money." All the states accepted these terms.

Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.

This disgraceful peace, called the PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS, was concluded in the year 387 B.C. By it Greece seemed prostrated at the feet of the barbarians; for its very terms, engraven on stone and set up in the sanctuaries of Greece, recognized the Persian king as the arbiter of her destinies. Although Athens cannot be exonerated from the blame of this transaction, the chief guilt rests upon Sparta, whose designs were deeper and more hypocritical than they appeared. Under the pretext of securing the independence of the Greek cities, her real object was to break up the confederacies under Athens and Thebes, and, with the help of Persia, to pave the way for her own dominion in Greece.

No sooner was the peace of Antalcidas concluded than Sparta, directed by Agesilaus, the ever-active enemy of Thebes, exerted all her power to weaken that city. She began by proclaiming the independence of the various Boeotian cities. Lacedaemonian garrisons were placed in Orchomenus and Thespiae, and Plataea was restored in order to annoy and weaken Thebes. Shortly afterwards the Lacedaemonians obtained possession of Thebes itself by treachery. Olynthus, a town of the Macedonian Chalcidicé, had become the head of a powerful confederation, which included several of the adjacent cities. The citizens of Acanthus and Apollonia, not wishing to join the league, and fearing that they would be forced into it, sought help from the Spartans, who sent troops under Phoebidas and Eudamidas against Olynthus. The Thebans had made an alliance with Olynthus, and had forbidden any of their citizens to join the Lacedaemonian army; but they were not strong enough to prevent its marching through their territory. Phoebidas halted

on his way through Boeotia not far from Thebes; where he was visited by Leontiades, one of the polemarchs of the city, and two or three other leaders of the Lacedaemonian party in Thebes. It happened that the festival of the Thesmophoria was on the point of being celebrated, during which the Cadmēa, or Theban Acropolis, was given up to the women, since men were forbidden to take part in the rites. Whilst the festival was celebrated, Phoebīdas pretended to resume his march, but only made a circuit round the city walls; whilst Leontiades, stealing out of the senate, mounted his horse, and, joining the Lacedaemonian troops, conducted them towards the Cadmēa. It was a sultry summer's afternoon; the streets were deserted; and Phoebidas, without encountering any opposition, seized the citadel and retained all the women as hostages. This treacherous act during a time of peace caused indignation throughout Greece. Sparta herself could not justify it, and pretended to punish Phoebidas by fine and dismissal. But that this was a mere farce is evident from the fact of his subsequent restoration to command; and, though the Lacedaemonians affected to disown the act of Phoebidas, they took care to reap the fruits of it by retaining their harmost and garrison in the Cadmēa.

Theban citadel seized by the Spartans, 382 B.C.

Thebes was now made a member of the Lacedaemonian alliance, and was forced to furnish her contingent for the war against the Olynthians. Olynthus was taken by the Lacedaemonians in 379 B.C.; the Olynthian confederacy was dissolved, and the cities belonging to it were compelled to join the Lacedaemonian alliance.

The power of Sparta on land had now attained its greatest height; but she had reached the turning-point of her fortunes. The first blow came from Thebes, where she had perpetrated her most signal injustice.

That city had been for three years in the hands of Leontiades and the Spartan party; but on the other side were ranged not only the oppressed and discontented citizens, but also the exiles, who had taken refuge at Athens. Among these exiles was Pelopīdas, a young man of birth and fortune, who had already a character for high spirit and patriotism. He had formed a

Liberation of Thebes, 379 B.C.

close friendship with Epaminondas, the greatest of the Theban statesmen and soldiers, who was several years older than himself. Their friendship is said to have originated in a campaign in which they served together, when, Pelopidas having fallen in battle apparently dead, Epaminondas protected his body at the imminent risk of his own life. Pelopidas afterwards endeavoured to persuade Epaminondas to share his riches with him; and when he did not succeed, he resolved to live on the same frugal fare as his friend. Pelopidas and another exile named Melon now secretly corresponded with their friends at Thebes, the chief of whom were Phyllidas, secretary to the polemarchs, and Charon. The Spartan faction was supported by a garrison of 1500 Lacedaemonians. The enterprise, therefore, was one of considerable difficulty and danger. It was arranged that Archias and Philippus, the two polemarchs, should be entertained at supper in the honour of Phyllidas, and after they had partaken freely of wine the conspirators were to be introduced, disguised as women, and to assassinate the polemarchs. On the day before the banquet, Pelopidas, with six other exiles, arrived at Thebes from Athens, and, straggling through the gates towards dusk, disguised as rustics, arrived safely at the house of Charon, where they remained concealed till the appointed hour. While the polemarchs were dining a messenger arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias, in which the whole plot was described. The messenger told Archias that the letter related to matters of serious importance. But the polemarch thrust the letter under the pillow of his couch, exclaiming, "Serious matters tomorrow." He had thrown away his last chance. The conspirators, disguised as women, and veiled, were ushered into the room. Unsuspected by the half-drunken revellers, they came within striking distance, and stabbed the two polemarchs. This done, they went to the house of Leontiades, whom they also despatched.

The news of the revolution soon spread. Throughout the city it was proclaimed that Thebes was free, and that all who valued their liberty should muster in the market-place. As soon as day dawned, the citizens met in public assembly; the conspirators were introduced, and were crowned by the priests with wreaths, and thanked in the name of their country's gods; Pelopidas, Charon, and Melon were chosen as the first restored

Boeotarchs. Meanwhile the remainder of the Theban exiles, accompanied by a body of Athenian volunteers, had assembled on the frontiers; and, at the first news of the success of the conspiracy, hastened to Thebes to complete the revolution. The Thebans, under their new Boeotarchs, were already mounting to the assault of the Cadmēa, when the Lacedaemonians capitulated, and were allowed to march out unmolested.

Thebes was now face to face with Sparta, and she did her best to prepare for the struggle. The military force was reorganized, and the famous "Sacred Band" was now for the first time instituted. This band was a regiment of 300 hoplites, composed of young and chosen citizens of the noblest families, and so arranged that each man had at his side an intimate friend. It was supported at the public expense, and kept always under arms, with the special duty of defending the Cadmēa. The Thebans had always been excellent soldiers; but their good fortune now gave them the greatest general that Greece had hitherto seen. Sprung from a poor but ancient family, Epaminondas possessed all the best qualities of his nation without that heaviness, either of body or of mind, which was regarded as a characteristic of the Theban people. He was practised in rhetoric, and had cultivated his mind by the study of philosophy and of music. In public life he was not only a great general and tactician and a wise statesman, but he was distinguished by uprightness and humanity. He was not led by personal ambition, but by patriotism of the widest and most enlightened kind, which considered the interests of the Hellenic race, not merely those of his own state. His friend Pelopidas had the same chivalrous nature and the same ardent patriotism: he was noted as a dashing soldier and a brilliant leader of cavalry: none better could have been found to second the schemes formed by the statesmanship and military skill of Epaminondas.

Thebes prepares for war.

Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

But without allies Thebes was not yet strong enough, and the alliance was provided by the mistakes of her enemies. Sparta sent, not her only great general Agesilaus, but Cleombrotus for the first campaign after the revolution in Thebes. Cleombrotus returned without accomplishing anything, and left an indiscreet

officer named Sphodrias to garrison Thespiae. Sphodrias made a foolish attempt to surprise Athens by a night-march. He failed, and the only result was that Athens at once declared war against Sparta, and became the ally of Thebes. Not only was this alliance made, but the Athenians formed a new confederacy resembling the old confederacy of Delos. The maritime states enrolled in it were to be independent, Athens being merely the leading state; the payments were not to be called by the unpopular name of *phoros*, or "tribute," but were to be a *syntaxis* ("contribution"). This confederacy, which ultimately included 70 cities, was chiefly organized by the exertions of Chabrias and of Timŏthĕus, the son of Conon.

The Spartans were resolved to avenge the repulse they had received; and in the summer of 378 B.C., Agesilaus marched with a large army into Boeotia. He was unable, however, to effect anything decisive, and subsequent invasions were attended with the like result. The Athenians created a diversion in their favour by a maritime war, in which Chabrias defeated the Spartan fleet at the battle of Naxos, 376 B.C., and for two years Boeotia was free from Spartan invasion. Thebes employed this time in extending her dominion over the neighbouring cities. One of her most important successes during this period was the victory gained by Pelopidas over a Lacedaemonian force near Tegyra, a village near Orchomenus (375 B.C.). Pelopidas had with him only the Sacred Band and a small body of cavalry when he fell in with the Lacedaemonians, who were nearly twice as numerous. He did not shrink from the conflict; and when one of his men said, "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy," he replied, "Why so, more than they into the midst of us?" This success encouraged the Thebans in their effort, and by the year 374 B.C. the Thebans succeeded in expelling the Lacedaemonians from Boeotia, and revived the Boeotian confederacy. They also destroyed the restored city of Plataea, and obliged its inhabitants once more to seek refuge at Athens.

The successes of the Thebans and their harshness towards the Plataeans revived the distrust of the Athenians, who opened negotiations for peace, and at length a congress of the allies on both sides met at Sparta in the spring of 371 B.C. The terms were agreed upon, by which the independence of the various Grecian cities was to be recognized; and the

Spartan harmosts and garrisons everywhere dismissed. Sparta ratified the treaty for herself and her allies; but Athens took the oaths only for herself, and was followed separately by her allies. As Epaminondas refused to sign except in the name of the Boeotian confederation, Agesilaus directed the name of the Thebans to be struck out of the treaty, and proclaimed them excluded from it.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SUPREMACY OF THEBES, B.C. 371–361.

In pursuance of the treaty, the Spartans withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, whilst the Athenians recalled their fleet from the Ionian sea. Only one feeling prevailed at Sparta—a desire to crush Thebes. At the time when the peace was concluded, Cleombrotus happened to be in Phocis at the head of a Peloponnesian army; and he now received orders to invade Boeotia without delay. The armies met on the memorable plain of Leuctra, near Thespiae. The forces on each side are not accurately known, but there is no doubt that the Thebans were outnumbered by their enemies. The military genius of Epaminondas, however, made up for inferiority of numbers. Up to this time Greek battles had been conducted by a general attack in line. Epaminondas now first adopted the manœuvre, used with such success by Napoleon in modern times, of concentrating heavy masses on a given point of the enemy's array. Having formed his left wing into a dense column of 50 deep, so that its depth was greater than its front, he directed it against the Spartan right, containing the best troops in their army, drawn up 12 deep, and led by Cleombrotus in person. The shock was terrible. Cleombrotus himself was mortally wounded in the onset, and was carried off by his comrades. The Spartan right still stood firm, but was unsupported, for Epaminondas had sent forward his cavalry at the beginning of the battle to check the enemies' left, and Pelopidas with the Sacred Band prevented all attempts to take the Theban column in the flank: it seems also that the Peloponnesian allies made little effort. Epaminondas called upon his men for "one

Battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.

step more," and the Spartan line was broken and put to flight. The loss of the Thebans was small compared with that of the Lacedaemonians. Out of 700 Spartans in the Lacedaemonian army, 400 had fallen: a Spartan king also had been slain in battle, which had not happened since the fatal day of Thermopylae.

The effect of the battle of Leuctra was felt throughout Greece. It was everywhere understood that a new military power had arisen—that the prestige of the old Spartan discipline and tactics had departed. Yet at Sparta there was no open sign of grief or dismay. The Ephors ordered the chorus of men, who were celebrating the festival of the Gymnopaedia, to go on as usual, and forbade the women to wail and mourn. Those whose friends had fallen showed themselves on the morrow with joyful countenances, whilst the relatives of the survivors seemed overwhelmed with grief and shame.

Jason of Pherae.

Immediately after the battle the Thebans had sent to ask Jason of Pherae for help against the Lacedaemonians. Jason was one of the most remarkable men of the time. He was Tagus, or Generalissimo, of all Thessaly; and Macedonia was partially dependent on him: he was a man of boundless ambition, and aimed at extending his dominion over all Greece. He had been waiting to see how matters went, and now resolved at once to join the Thebans; but when he arrived at Leuctra he dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the enemies' camp, advising them not to drive the Lacedaemonians to despair, and offering his mediation. He accordingly succeeded in effecting a truce, by which the Lacedaemonians were allowed to depart from Boeotia unmolested. Jason was shortly afterwards assassinated. His death was felt as a relief by Greece, and especially by Thebes. He was succeeded by his two brothers, Polyphron and Polydōrus; but they possessed neither his ability nor his power.

The Athenians stood aloof from the contending parties. They had not received the news of the battle of Leuctra with any pleasure, for they now dreaded Thebes more than Sparta. They wished to prevent both alike from obtaining the supremacy in Greece, and for this purpose tried to form a league of the Peloponnesian states, which should be independent of Sparta,

and able to act either against her or against Thebes. But if this could ever have succeeded it was thwarted by the movements of Epaminondas, who, as soon as the death of Jason relieved him from the necessity of keeping guard in Northern Greece, prepared for an expedition into the Peloponnesus.

The defeat of Sparta had emboldened the Arcadian cities to form a confederation which should preserve their independence. The jealousy of the various towns made it advisable that a new capital should be founded, and for this purpose Megalopolis was built on the banks of the Helisson, and peopled by the inhabitants of forty distinct Arcadian townships. Here a synod of deputies from the towns (*i.e.* from all Arcadia except Orchomenus and Heraea), called "The Ten Thousand," met for business which concerned the whole confederation: they were supported by a body of 5000 federal troops called *Eparĭti*. Lycomēdes of Mantinēa was the chief agent in this movement, but it was encouraged and perhaps originated by Epaminondas.

Movements in Arcadia. Megalopolis founded, 370 B.C.

In the same year (B.C. 370) Epaminondas marched into Laconia, and threatened Sparta itself. The city, which was wholly unfortified, was filled with confusion and alarm. The women, who had never yet seen the face of an enemy, gave way to wailing and lamentation. Agesilaus was undismayed, and saved the state by his energy. He repulsed the cavalry of Epaminondas as they advanced towards Sparta; and so vigorous were his measures of defence, that the Theban general abandoned all further attempt upon the city, and proceeded southwards as far as Helos and Gythium, the port and arsenal of Sparta. After laying waste with fire and sword the valley of the Eurōtas, he retraced his steps to the frontiers of Arcadia.

Epaminondas now proceeded to carry out the two objects for which his march had been undertaken; namely, to establish the Messenians as an independent community, and to secure the new Arcadian confederation. The Messenians had formerly lived under their own kings; but for the last three centuries their land had been subject to Sparta, and they had been fugitives upon the face of the earth. The restoration of these exiles, dispersed in various Hellenic colonies, to their former

Epaminondas restores Messene.

rights, would plant a bitterly hostile neighbour on the very borders of Laconia. Epaminondas accordingly opened communications with them, and numbers of them flocked to his standard during his march into Peloponnesus. He now founded the town of Messēné. Its citadel, strongly fortified, was placed on the summit of Mount Ithōmé, which had three centuries before been so bravely defended by the Messenians against the Spartans. The territory attached to the new city extended southwards to the Messenian gulf, and northwards to the borders of Arcadia, comprising some of the most fertile land in Peloponnesus. Epaminondas was now able to return to Boeotia, leaving not only the restored state of Messenia on a safe footing, but also the Arcadian confederation free from all danger; for the capital was being built and fortified, and the Spartans were in no condition, with a hostile people on their other flank at Ithome, to make any attempt against it. The unmolested completion of the fortifications of Megalopolis and Messēné was secured by the second expedition of Epaminondas as far as Sicyon in 369 B.C.

So low had Sparta sunk, that she was fain to send envoys to beg the assistance of the Athenians. This request was acceded to; and shortly afterwards an alliance was formed between the two states, in which Sparta waived all her claims to superiority and headship. During the next two years the Thebans continued steadily to increase their power and influence in Greece, though no great battle was fought. In 368 B.C. Pelopidas conducted a Theban force into Thessaly and Macedonia. In Thessaly he forced Alexander, who, by the murder of his two brothers, had become despot of Pherae and Tagus of Thessaly, to acknowledge the independence of Larissa and other Thessalian cities. In Macedonia he formed an alliance with the regent Ptolemy: and amongst the hostages given for the observance of this treaty was the youthful Philip, son of Amyntas, afterwards the great king of Macedon, who remained for some years at Thebes. In the Peloponnesus there was no campaign of any importance in the year 368; but the King Archidamus led an army into Arcadia composed partly of Lacedaemonians, partly of some Celtic mercenaries sent by Dionysius of Syracuse. In the south of Arcadia he routed the troops under Lycomēdes without

The Tearless Battle.

losing a single Spartan soldier, whence it was known as "The Tearless Battle."

In the following year Pelopidas and Ismenias proceeded on an embassy to Persia. Ever since the peace of Antalcidas the king of Persia had become the recognized mediator between the states of Greece; and the Thebans followed the unworthy precedent by asking his sanction for the new state of things in Greece. The Persian rescript pronounced the independence of Messēné and Amphipolis; the Athenians were directed to lay up their ships of war in ordinary; and Thebes was declared the head of Greece.

Theban embassy to Persia.

It was probably during a mission undertaken by Pelipodas, for the purpose of procuring the acknowledgment of the rescript in Thessaly and the northern parts of Greece, that he was seized and imprisoned by Alexander of Pherae. The Thebans immediately sent an army of 8000 hoplites and 600 cavalry into Thessaly. Unfortunately they were no longer commanded by Epaminondas. Their present incompetent generals were beaten and forced to retreat, and the army was in the greatest danger. Epaminondas was serving as a hoplite in the ranks, and by the unanimous voice of the troops he was now called to the command, and succeeded in leading the army safely back to Thebes. Here the Boeotarchs were disgraced; Epaminondas was restored to the command, and placed at the head of a second Theban army to attempt the release of Pelopidas. Through his skill the enterprise proved successful, and Pelopidas (367 B.C.) returned in safety to Thebes.

In 364 B.C. Pelopidas again marched into Thessaly against Alexander of Pherae. Complaints of the tyranny of that despot had arrived at Thebes, and Pelopidas, who also had his private wrongs to avenge, prevailed upon the Thebans to send him into Thessaly to punish the tyrant. The battle was fought on the hills of Cynoscephalae; the troops of Alexander were routed; but Pelopidas, when he saw his hated enemy endeavouring to rally them, was seized with such a transport of rage that, regardless of his duties as a general, he rushed forwards and challenged him to single combat. Alexander shrunk back within the ranks of the guards, followed

War with Alexander of Pherae. Pelopidas slain, 364 B.C.

by Pelopidas, who was soon slain, fighting with desperate bravery. The death of Pelopidas was a severe loss to Thebes, though the object of the expedition was gained, and Alexander had to give up all his pretensions over the Thessalian cities.

Meantime a war had been carried on between Elis, who wished to possess Lepreum, and Arcadia, with which Lepreum and the district of Triphylia was now united. This led to disunion among the Arcadians themselves. The Arcadians claimed the presidency of Olympia without a shadow of right, and for a time held the sanctuary by force of arms. The Spartans promised aid to Elis, and the Mantineans, disgusted by the violation of the sanctuary, took the same side, thus severing themselves from the rest of Arcadia and from the Theban alliance. In 362 B.C. Epaminondas marched into Peloponnesus to support the Theban party in Arcadia. The Spartans sent a powerful force to the assistance of the Mantineans, in whose territory the hostile armies met. In the battle which ensued Epaminondas formed his Boeotian troops into a column of extraordinary depth, with which he broke through the ranks of the Mantineans and Lacedaemonians and put them to flight. The day was won; but Epaminondas, who fought in the foremost ranks, fell mortally wounded. He was carried off the field with the spear-head still fixed in his breast. He first asked if his shield was safe, and then if the battle was won: next he inquired for Iolaïdas and Daiphantus, whom he intended to succeed him in the command. He was told that both were slain: "Then," he said, "you must make peace." After this he ordered the spear-head to be withdrawn; with the gush of blood which followed his life ended. Thus died this truly great man; and never was there one whose claim to that title has been less disputed. With him the supremacy of Thebes began and ended. His last advice was adopted, and peace was concluded. Its basis was a recognition of the *status quo*—to leave everything as it was, to acknowledge the Arcadian constitution and the independence of Messēné. Sparta alone refused to join it on account of the last article, but she was not supported by her allies.

Battle of Mantinea: death of Epaminondas, 362 B.C.

Agesilaus had lived to see the empire of Sparta overthrown; but he had not yet abandoned all hope; and the offer of a large

subsidy from Egypt, which would give the supplies needed by Sparta, led him to undertake a new campaign. At the age of 80 the indomitable old man proceeded with a force of 1000 hoplites to assist Tachos, king of Egypt, in his revolt against Persia. He died at Cyrēné on his return to Greece. His body was embalmed in wax, and splendidly buried in Sparta.

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CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN ARMAMENT TO THE DEATH OF TIMOLEON.

THE affairs of the Sicilian Greeks, an important branch of the Hellenic race, deserve a passing notice. A few years after the destruction of the Athenian armament, Dionysius made himself master of Syracuse (405 B.C.). His reign as tyrant or despot was long and prosperous. After repelling the Carthaginians, who more than once invaded Sicily, he extended his dominion over a great part of the island, and over a considerable portion of Magna Graecia. He raised Syracuse to be one of the chief Greek states, second in influence, if indeed second, to Sparta alone. Under his sway Syracuse was strengthened and embellished with new fortifications, docks, arsenals, and other public buildings, and became superior even to Athens in extent and population.

Syracuse under Dionysius, 405–367 B.C.

Dionysius was a warm patron of literature, and was anxious himself to gain literary distinction. In the midst of his political and military cares he devoted himself assiduously to poetry; his poems were recited at the Olympic games; and he repeatedly contended for the prize of tragedy at Athens. In the same spirit we find him seeking the society of men distinguished in literature and philosophy. Plato, who visited Sicily about the year 389, was introduced to Dionysius by Dion. He seems to have offended the tyrant by his plain speaking, whatever may be the truth of the story of his being sold as a slave and ransomed by Annicĕris of Cyrēné.

Plato at Syracuse.

Dionysius died in 367 B.C., and was succeeded by his eldest

son, commonly called the younger Dionysius, who was about 52 years of age at the time of his father's death. At first he listened to the counsels of Dion, who had always enjoyed the respect and confidence of his father. By the advice of Dion he invited Plato again to Syracuse, where the philosopher was received with the greatest honour. But his influence for good was displeasing to the palace clique. Dionysius was persuaded to expel Dion from Sicily, as a conspirator who was anxious to place his own nephew on the throne.* Plato obtained permission to return to Greece (360 B.C.). Dionysius now gave way to his vices without restraint, and Dion saw that the time had come for avenging his own wrongs as well as those of his country. Collecting a small force, he sailed to Sicily, and suddenly appeared before the gates of Syracuse while Dionysius was absent on an expedition to Italy. The inhabitants welcomed Dion as their deliverer; and Dionysius on his return from Italy found himself compelled to quit Syracuse (356 B.C.), leaving Dion master of the city. Dion was now able to carry out all those exalted notions of political life which he had sought to instil into the mind of Dionysius. He seems to have contemplated some political changes; but his immediate measures were tyrannical, and were rendered still more unpopular by his overbearing manners. His unpopularity continued to increase, till at length one of his friends, the Athenian Callippus, caused him to be assassinated in his own house. This event took place in 353, about three years after the expulsion of the Dionysian dynasty. Callippus contrived to retain the sovereign power only a twelvemonth. A period of anarchy followed, during which Dionysius made himself master of the city by treachery, about 346 B.C. He was not, however, able to re-establish himself firmly in his former power. Most of the other cities of Sicily had shaken off the yoke of Syracuse, and were governed by petty despots. Meantime the Carthaginians prepared to take advantage of the distracted condition of Sicily. In the extremity of their sufferings, several of the Syracusan exiles appealed for aid to Corinth, their mother-city. The

Dionysius the younger and Dion.

* The elder Dionysius had married two wives at the same time: one of these was a Locrian woman named Doris; the other, Aristomaché, was a Syracusan, and the sister of Dion. The younger Dionysius was his eldest son by Doris; but he also had children by Aristomaché.

application was granted, and Timoleon was appointed to command an expedition for the relief of Syracuse.

Timŏleon was distinguished for gentleness as well as for courage, but towards traitors and despots his hatred was intense.

Timoleon.

He had once saved the life of his elder brother Timophănes in battle at the imminent peril of his own; but when Timophanes, availing himself of his situation as commander of the garrison in the Acrocorinthus, endeavoured to enslave his country, Timoleon did not hesitate to consent to his death. For many years nothing could prevail upon him to return to public life. He buried himself in the country, till a chance voice in the Corinthian assembly nominated him as the leader of the expedition against Dionysius.

Roused by the nature of the cause, and the exhortations of his friends, Timoleon accepted the post thus offered to him. His success exceeded his hopes. As soon as he appeared before Syracuse, Dionysius, who appears to have abandoned all hope of ultimate success, surrendered the citadel into his hands, on condition of being allowed to depart in safety to Corinth (343 B.C.). Dionysius passed the remainder of his life at Corinth, where he is said to have displayed his old habits in luxury of dress and dinners, and to have indulged his literary tastes by teaching public singers and actors, and by opening a school for boys.

Timoleon expelled the other tyrants also from the Sicilian cities, and gained a great victory over the Carthaginians at the river Crīmīsus. He restored a republican constitution to Syracuse; and his first public act was to destroy the impregnable fortifications of the citadel of Ortygia, the stronghold of the elder and the younger Dionysius. All the rewards which Timoleon received for his great services were a house in Syracuse, and some landed property in the neighbourhood of the city. He now sent for his family from Corinth, and became a Syracusan citizen. He continued, however, to retain in a private station the greatest influence in the state. During the few remaining years of his life, when important affairs were discussed in the assembly, it was customary to send for Timoleon, now totally blind, who was drawn in a car into the middle of the theatre amid the shouts of the assembled citizens. When the

Battle of Crimisus, 340 B.C.

tumult of his reception had subsided he listened patiently to the debate. The opinion which he pronounced was usually ratified by the vote of the assembly; and he then left the theatre amidst the same cheers which had greeted his arrival. He died in 336 B.C.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PHILIP OF MACEDON, 359–336 B.C.

THE internal dissensions of Greece produced their natural fruits; and we shall have now to relate the downfall of her independence and her subjugation by Macedonia, a state to the north of Thessaly, hitherto considered as altogether barbarous, and without the pale of Greek civilization. But though the Macedonians were not pure Greeks,* their sovereigns claimed to be descended from a Hellenic race, namely, that of Temĕnus of Argos; and it is said that Alexander I. (498–454 B.C.) proved his Argive descent before he contended at the Olympic games. Perdiccas is commonly regarded as the founder of the monarchy; of the history of which, however, little is known till the reign of Amyntas I., his fifth successor, who was contemporary with the Peisistratidae at Athens. Under Amyntas, who submitted to the satrap Megabyzus, Macedonia became subject to Persia, and remained so till after the battle of Plataea. The reigns of the succeeding sovereigns present little that is remarkable, with the exception of that of Archelāus (413 B.C.). This king transferred his residence from Aegae to Pella, which thus became the capital, and he did much to introduce the civilization of a settled life in towns among his people. He entertained literary men at his court, and among them Euripides, who ended his days at Pella. Archelaus was assassinated in 399 B.C., and the crown devolved upon Amyntas II., a representative of the old line. Amyntas left three sons, the youngest being Philip, of whom we have now to speak.

Rise of the Macedonian power.

* They belonged to the same stock as the Hellenes of Greece proper, and their language was a dialect of Greek, but so far removed from the speech of the cultivated Hellenic nations who dwelt to the south, that it was regarded as "barbarous," *i.e.* foreign. In lack of culture they were no less distinct.

It has been already mentioned that the youthful Philip was one of the hostages delivered to the Thebans as security for the peace obtained by Pelopidas. His life at Thebes gave him some tincture of Greek philosophy and literature; but the most important lesson which he learned in that city was the art of war, with all the improved tactics introduced by Epaminondas. Philip succeeded to the throne at the age of 23 (359 B.C.), and very soon displayed his extraordinary energy and abilities. His kingdom was ravaged by the Illyrians on the west and the Paeonians on the north, and he had besides to maintain his throne against the claims of Argaeus. All these enemies he had overthrown within a year of his accession, and he proceeded to establish a standing army, in which discipline was preserved by the severest punishments. The far-famed Macedonian phalanx, which he introduced, was a formation 16 deep, armed with long projecting spears.

Philip of Macedon, 359 B.C.

Philip's attention was next turned towards the eastern frontiers of his dominions, where he wished to have a seaport. A few years before the Athenians had made various unavailing attempts to obtain possession of Amphipŏlis, which they had never recovered since its capture by Brasĭdas in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. Its situation at the mouth of the Strymon rendered it also valuable to Macedonia, not only as a commercial port, but as opening a passage into Thrace. The Olynthians were likewise anxious to enrol Amphipolis as a member of their confederacy, and accordingly proposed to the Athenians to form an alliance for the purpose of defending Amphipolis against their common enemy. An alliance between these two powerful states would have proved an insurmountable obstacle to Philip's views: and it was therefore absolutely necessary to prevent the coalition. Here we have the first instance of Philip's skill and duplicity in negotiation. By secretly promising the Athenians that he would put Amphipolis into their hands if they would give him possession of Pydna, he induced them to reject the overtures of the Olynthians; and by ceding to the latter the town of Anthĕmus, he bought off their opposition. He now laid siege to Amphipolis, which, being thus left unaided, fell into his hands (358 B.C.). He then marched against Pydna, which surrendered to him; but on the ground that it was not the

Athenians who had put him in possession of this town, he refused to give up Amphipolis to them.

Philip had now reason to dread the enmity of the Athenians, and accordingly it was his policy to court the favour of the Olynthians, and to prevent them from renewing their negotiations with the Athenians. In order to separate them more effectually, he helped the Olynthians to recover Potidaea, which had formerly belonged to their confederacy, but was now in the hands of the Athenians. On the capture of the town he handed it over to the Olynthians. Plutarch relates that the taking of Potidaea was accompanied with three other fortunate events in the life of Philip, namely, the prize gained by his chariot at the Olympic games, a victory of his general Parmĕnio over the Illyrians, and the birth of his son Alexander. These events happened in 356 B.C.

Philip now crossed the Strymon, on the left bank of which lay Pangaeus, a range of mountains abounding in gold-mines. He conquered the district, and founded there a new town called Philippi, on the site of the ancient Thracian town of Crēnides. By improved methods of working the mines he made them yield an annual revenue of 1000 talents, nearly £250,000.

Foundation of Philippi, 356 B.C.

Meanwhile Athens was engaged in a war with her allies, which has been called the *Social War*, and which was one reason why she was obliged to look quietly on whilst Philip was thus aggrandizing himself at her expense. This war broke out in B.C. 357. The chief cause of it was that the Athenian generals had begun again to levy contributions upon the allies, much as had been done under the old Confederacy of Delos. Accordingly Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes seceded from the alliance. The Athenians began the war by an unsuccessful attack upon Chios, in which Chabrias was killed. They had two other able generals, Iphicrătes and Timŏthĕus. Both were condemned for a failure to overpower the Chian fleet, stronger than their own, before Chios, and were deprived of their commands—a piece of suicidal folly, which left Chares, a greatly inferior man, in chief command; and nothing was effected. The war lasted three years, till Artaxerxes, the Persian king, threatened to support the allies with a fleet of 300 ships, and the Athenians

Social War, 357-355 B.C.

were obliged to consent to a disadvantageous peace, which secured the independence of the more important allies (355 B.C.).

Another war, which had been raging during the same time, tended still further to exhaust the Grecian states, and thus pave the way for Philip's progress to the supremacy. This was the *Sacred War*, which broke out between Thebes and Phocis in the same year as the Social War (357 B.C.). An ill-feeling had long existed between these two countries. The Thebans now availed themselves of their influence in the Amphictyonic council to pay off the old grudge; and accordingly induced the council to impose a heavy fine upon the Phocians, on the ground that they had cultivated a portion of the Cirrhaean plain, which was consecrated to the Delphian god, and was to lie waste for ever. The Phocians pleaded that the payment of the fine would ruin them; but the Amphictyons only doubled the amount, and threatened, in case of their continued refusal, to reduce them to the condition of serfs. Thus driven to desperation, the Phocians resolved to complete the sacrilege of which they had been accused, by seizing the temple of Delphi itself. The leader of this enterprise was Philomēlus, who, with a force of no more than 2000 men, surprised and took Delphi. At first, however, he abstained from touching the sacred treasure; but being hard pressed by the Thebans and their allies, he threw off these scruples, and announced that the sacred treasures should be converted into a fund for the payment of mercenaries. On the death of Philomēlus, who fell in battle, the command was assumed by his brother Onomarchus, who carried on the war with vigour and success. But Philip, who had been extending his dominion over Thessaly, now came upon the scene, and, assuming the character of a champion of the Delphic god, made his soldiers wear wreaths of laurel plucked in the groves of Tempé. He penetrated into Thessaly, and encountered the Phocians near the gulf of Pagăsae. In the battle which ensued Onomarchus was slain, and his army totally defeated (352 B.C.). This victory made Philip master of Thessaly. He now directed his march southwards with the view of subduing the Phocians; but upon reaching Thermopylae he found the pass guarded by a strong Athenian force, and was compelled to retreat.

Sacred War.

The Phocians take Delphi, 356 B.C.

After his return from Thessaly Philip's schemes were directed towards Thrace and the Chersonese. It was at this juncture

Demosthenes.

that Demosthĕnes came forward as the opponent of Philip, and delivered the first of those famous speeches which from their subject have been called "the Philippics." Demosthenes was born in 382–381 B.C. Having lost his father at the early age of seven, his guardians abused their trust, and defrauded him of the greater part of his inheritance. This misfortune, however, proved one of the causes which made him an orator. When he grew up he brought actions against his guardians, and thus began his career as an orator. It is true that his first attempt to speak in public proved a failure, and he retired amidst the laughter of the citizens. But the more clear-sighted among his auditors perceived marks of genius in his speech, and rightly attributed his failure to want of due preparation. Eunŏmus, who met him wandering about Peiraeus in a state of dejection at his ill success, bade him take courage and persevere. Demosthenes now withdrew from public life, and set to work to remedy his defects. They consisted chiefly of a weak voice, imperfect articulation, and ungraceful action. He was helped by Satўrus the actor, who exercised him in reciting passages from Sophocles and Euripides, and stories have been preserved, which, if not true, at any rate prove a general tradition of his diligence and resolution; that he copied the histories of Thucydides till he knew them by heart (as Lord Mansfield is said to have done with Cicero); that he declaimed by the seashore to accustom himself to speaking in an uproar and overcoming it, and that he shut himself for some months in an underground chamber for the sake of uninterrupted study. Whatever his methods were, his perseverance was crowned with success, and he became at last the most famous orator at Athens.

Demosthenes had established himself as a public speaker before the period which we have now reached; but it is chiefly

Demosthenes and Phocion.

in connexion with Philip that we are to view him as a statesman as well as an orator. Philip had shown his ambition by the conquest of Thessaly and by the part he had taken in the Sacred War; and Demosthenes now began to regard him as the enemy of the liberties of Athens and of Greece. In his first "Philippic"

Demosthenes tried to rouse his countrymen to energetic measures against this enemy; but his warnings produced little effect, for the Athenians no longer had the spirit which had won for them their supremacy. Moreover, Demosthenes was opposed by a strong party, with which Phocion commonly acted. Phocion is one of the most singular and original characters in Grecian history. He viewed the multitude and their affairs with a scorn which he was at no pains to disguise; receiving their anger with indifference, and their praises with contempt. His known probity also gave him weight with the assembly. He was the only statesman of whom Demosthenes stood in awe; who was accustomed to say, when Phocion rose, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But Phocion's desponding views, and his mistrust of the Athenian people, made him a bad guide at this time. His opposition to Demosthenes, however honest, was a mistaken policy, and against the true interests of his country, if there was any real prospect of resisting Philip successfully. Phocion thought that there was no such prospect; and his particular philosophy, somewhat like what the Stoics afterwards professed, made him inclined to be "a citizen of the world" rather than a patriot, and made the idea of living under a Macedonian supremacy less odious to him—and no doubt it was very different from being enslaved to the Persian rule—than it was to the more high-minded Demosthenes. Hence, though an honest man, he was sometimes leagued with very dishonest opponents of Demosthenes—with men who were really bribed by Philip.

The result of this division of parties at Athens was soon evident. In the year 350 B.C. Philip was threatening Chalcĭdĭcé, the confederacy of thirty-two Greek towns headed by Olynthus. The Olynthians sent to Athens for help, and Demosthenes delivered his series of speeches called "*The Olynthiac*," urging his countrymen to take action. They did agree to the alliance, but the divisions described above rendered the operations of the Athenians for the aid of the Olynthians languid and desultory. Town after town of the confederacy fell before Philip; and in 347 Olynthus itself was taken. The whole of the Chalcidian peninsula thus became a Macedonian province.

Fall of Olynthus, B.C. 347.

The prospects of Athens now became alarming. Her

possessions in the Thracian Chersonese were next threatened by Philip, as well as the freedom of the Greek towns upon the Hellespont. The Athenians had supported the Phocians in the Sacred War, and were thus at war with Thebes. In order to resist Philip the attention of the Athenians was now directed towards a reconciliation with Thebes, especially since the treasures of Delphi were nearly exhausted, and on the other hand the war was becoming every year more and more burthensome to the Thebans. Nor did it seem improbable that a peace might be concluded not only between those two cities, but among the Grecian states generally. It seems to have been this aspect of affairs that induced Philip to make several indirect overtures for peace to the Athenians in the summer of B.C. 347.

End of the Sacred War, 346 B.C.

In spite of subsidies from Delphi the war pressed heavily upon them, and they eventually agreed to terms of peace; but Philip had contrived while the negotiations were going on to complete the conquests which he desired in Thrace; and the terms of peace secured to each what they had gained, and specially excluded the Phocians, whom the Athenians thus blindly, as well as dishonourably, gave over to destruction. Philip marched through Thermopylae, and entered Phocis, which surrendered unconditionally. He then occupied Delphi, where he assembled the Amphictyons to pronounce sentence upon those who had been concerned in the sacrilege. The council decreed that all the cities of Phocis, except Abae, should be destroyed, and their inhabitants scattered into villages containing not more than fifty houses each. Sparta was deprived of her share in the Amphictyonic privileges; the two votes in the council possessed by the Phocians were transferred to the kings of Macedonia; and Philip was to share with the Thebans and Thessalians the honour of presiding at the Pythian games (346 B.C.).

The result of the Sacred War rendered Macedon the leading state in Greece. Philip's ambitious designs were, however, too plain to be mistaken. The eyes of the blindest among the Athenians were at last opened; the promoters of the peace which had been concluded with Philip incurred the hatred and suspicion of the people; while Demosthenes rose higher in public favour.

Philip was nov busy with preparations for his great schemes,

which embraced an attack upon the Athenian colonies, as well as upon the Persian empire. For this purpose he had gathered a large naval force as well as an army; and in the spring of 342 B.C. he set out on an expedition against Thrace. His progress menaced the Chersonese and the Athenian possessions in that quarter; and at length the Athenian troops under Diopeithes came into actual collision with the Macedonians. In the following year Philip began to attack the Greek cities north of the Hellespont. He first besieged and captured Selymbria on the Propontis, and then turned his arms against Perinthus and Byzantium. This roused the Athenians to more vigorous action. War was formally declared against Philip, and a fleet under Phocion equipped for the immediate relief of Byzantium. Philip was forced to raise the siege not only of that town, but of Perinthus also, and finally to evacuate the Chersonesus altogether. For these services the Byzantians erected a colossal statue in honour of Athens.

Affairs in the Hellespont.

After this check Philip undertook an expedition against the Thracians; but meantime his Greek partisans, some of them blind, some treacherous, procured for him an opportunity of marching again into the very heart of Greece.

Amphissa, a Locrian town, having been declared by the Amphictyonic council guilty of sacrilege, Philip was appointed by the council as their general to inflict punishment on the inhabitants of the guilty town. Aeschines, one of the Athenian members of the council, was probably in Philip's pay. Philip marched southwards early in 338 B.C.; but instead of proceeding in the direction of Amphissa, he suddenly seized Elatēa, the chief town in the eastern part of Phocis, thus showing clearly enough that his real design was against Boeotia and Attica. Intelligence of this event reached Athens at night, and caused extraordinary alarm. In the following morning Demosthenes pressed upon the assembly the necessity for making the most vigorous preparations for defence, and especially recommended them to send an embassy to Thebes, in order to persuade the Thebans to unite with them against the common enemy.

Philip passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea, 338 B.C.

The details of the war that followed are exceedingly obscure;

but probably the true account is that Philip again opened negotiations with the Thebans, and that they failed in great measure through the arguments of Demosthenes.

Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.

We then find the combined Theban and Athenian armies marching out to meet the Macedonians. The decisive battle was fought on the 7th of August, in the plain of Chaeronēa in Boeotia, near the frontier of Phocis (338 B.C.). In the Macedonian army was Philip's son, Alexander, then only eighteen years old, who was intrusted with the command of one of the wings; and it was a charge made by him on the Theban sacred band that decided the fortune of the day. The sacred band was cut to pieces, without flinching from the ground which it occupied, and the remainder of the combined army was completely routed. Demosthenes, who was serving as a foot-soldier in the Athenian ranks, has been absurdly reproached with cowardice because he participated in the general flight.

The battle of Chaeronēa crushed the liberties of Greece, and made it in reality a province of the Macedonian monarchy. To Athens herself the blow was almost as fatal as that of Aegospotami. But the manner in which Philip used his victory excited universal surprise. He dismissed the Athenian prisoners without ransom, and voluntarily offered a peace on terms more advantageous than the Athenians themselves would have ventured to propose. Philip, indeed, seems to have regarded Athens with a sort of respect, as the centre of art and literature; for his treatment of the Thebans was very different. They were compelled to recall their exiles, in whose hands the government was left, and a Macedonian garrison was placed in the Cadmēa.

A congress of the Grecian states was now summoned at Corinth, war was declared against Persia, and Philip was appointed generalissimo of the expedition.

Philip's preparations against Persia, and his death, B.C. 338.

In the spring of 336 B.C. Philip sent some forces into Asia, under the command of Attălus, Parmenio, and Amyntas, which were designed to engage the Greek cities of Asia in the expedition. But before quitting Macedonia, Philip determined to provide for the safety of his dominions by celebrating the marriage of his daughter with Alexander of Ēpīrus. It was solemnized at Aegae, the ancient capital of

Macedonia, with much pomp. The festivities on the following day began with a procession of the images of the twelve Olympian deities, with which was associated, impiously, as it seemed to the spectators, the image of Philip himself. The king took part in the procession, dressed in white robes, and crowned with a chaplet. As he drew to the theatre, a young man suddenly rushed out of the crowd, and stabbed Philip with a sword which he had hidden under his clothes. He was pursued by some of the royal guards, and was cut down before he could reach the place where horses had been provided for his escape. His name was Pausanias. It is said that his motive for taking Philip's life was that the king had refused to punish an outrage which Attalus had committed against him.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and forty-seventh year of his age, leaving his son Alexander to carry out the great enterprise against Asia, for which his own wonderful skill in organizing the Macedonian supremacy in Greece had provided the means.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (from the bust in the British Museum).

CHAPTER XIX.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 336-323 B.C.

ALEXANDER, at the time of his father's death, was in his twentieth year, having been born at Pella in 356 B.C. His early education was entrusted to Leonidas, a kinsman of his mother, who trained him with Spartan simplicity and hardihood, and to Lysimachus. His mother, Olympias, was the daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Epirus, who claimed descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. This belief in a heroic ancestry inspired the young Alexander with the wish to become a second Achilles—a wish which was encouraged by his teachers. The boy studied the "Iliad" constantly, and it is said that Lysimachus used to address him as "Achilles," calling Philip Peleus and himself Phoenix. The influence of Aristotle,

Early life and training of Alexander.

whose pupil he became at the age of thirteen, was more important in giving him great and definite aims. It is likely enough that his power of organizing and governing his conquests, his desire to found cities and spread the civilization of Greece, and his love of research in geography and natural history, may have been derived in great measure from the teaching of Aristotle. At the age of sixteen Alexander became regent of Macedonia during Philip's absence; and at eighteen we have seen him taking a prominent part in the battle of Chaeronēa.

On succeeding to the throne Alexander announced his intention of carrying out his father's plans for invading Asia; but it was first necessary for him to settle the affairs of Greece, where the news of Philip's assassination had excited in several states a hope of shaking off the Macedonian yoke. At Athens Demosthenes moved a decree that Philip's death should be celebrated by a public thanksgiving, and at the same time he tried to obtain money from Persia which might help the movement in the Greek states against Macedonia. Sparta, and the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of Megalopolis and Messenia, seemed inclined to shake off their compulsory alliance.

Anti-Macedonian movements in Greece.

The activity of Alexander disconcerted these plans. Having marched through Thessaly, he obtained from the Amphictyonic council the command with which they had invested his father during the Sacred War. He then convened a general congress at Corinth, where he was appointed generalissimo for the Persian war in place of his father. Most persons of note at Corinth came to congratulate him; but Diogenes of Sinōpē, who was then living in one of the suburbs of Corinth, did not make his appearance. Alexander therefore resolved to pay a visit to the cynic philosopher, whom he found basking in the sun. Alexander asked how he could serve him? "By standing out of my sunshine," replied Diogenes. Alexander was struck by this independence of character, and turning to his courtiers, who were indignant at the churlishness of the reply, he said, "Were I not Alexander, I should like to be Diogenes."

Alexander then returned to Macedonia in the hope of being able to begin his Persian expedition in the spring of 335 B.C.;

but reports of disturbances among the Thracians and Triballians diverted his attention to that quarter. He therefore crossed Mount Haemus (the Balkan) and marched into the territory of the Triballians, defeated their forces, and pursued them beyond the Danube. Thence he marched against the Illyrians, and reduced them also to obedience.

Alexander in Thrace and Illyria.

During Alexander's absence on these expeditions no tidings were heard of him for a considerable time, and a report of his death was spread through Greece. The Thebans rose and besieged the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmēa, at the same time inviting other states to declare their independence. Demosthenes urged the Athenians to send aid to Thebes, and began to incite other Greek states to do the same. But the rapidity of Alexander again crushed the insurrection. Before the Thebans discovered that the report of his death was false he had already arrived at Onchestus in Boeotia. Alexander was willing to afford them an opportunity for repentance, and marched slowly to the foot of the Cadmēa. But the leaders of the insurrection, believing themselves irretrievably compromised, rejected Alexander's summons to surrender. The Thebans were driven from their post of battle outside the walls back into the city. The Macedonians entered the gates with them, and a general massacre followed. Six thousand Thebans are said to have been slain, and thirty thousand were made prisoners. The doom of the conquered city was referred to the allies, who meanly decreed her destruction, alleging the conduct of the Thebans during the Persian war, and their treatment of Plataea. The inhabitants were sold as slaves, and all the houses, except that of Pindar, were levelled with the ground. The Cadmēa was occupied by a Macedonian garrison. Thebes seems to have been thus harshly treated as an example to the rest of Greece; for towards the other states, which were now eager to make their excuses and submission, Alexander showed forbearance. When the Athenians heard of the destruction inflicted upon Thebes, they sent ambassadors to congratulate the Macedonian king. Alexander in reply wrote a letter, demanding that eight or ten of the leading Athenian orators should be delivered up to him. At the head of the list was Demosthenes. Phocion,

Destruction of Thebes.

who had throughout regarded resistance to Macedon as impossible, advised compliance, but at the same time he offered to intercede with Alexander, and at his intercession the orators were spared.

Having thus confirmed his power in Greece, Alexander marched for the Hellespont in the spring of B.C. 334, leaving Antĭpăter regent of Macedonia. His army consisted of only about 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. Of the infantry about 12,000 were Macedonians, and these composed the strength of the celebrated Macedonian phalanx. Such was the force with which he proposed to attack the immense but ill-cemented empire of Persia, which, like the empires of Turkey or Austria in modern times, consisted of various nations and races, speaking different languages; the only bond of union being the dominant military power of the ruling nation. The remote provinces, like those of Asia Minor, were administered by satraps, who enjoyed an almost independent authority. Before Alexander departed he distributed most of the crown property among his friends, and when Perdiccas asked him what he had reserved for himself, he replied, "My hopes." He left 12,000 foot and 1500 horse with Antipater to control Greece.

Alexander's invasion of Asia, 334 B.C.

A march of sixteen days brought Alexander to Sestos, where a large fleet and a number of transports had been collected. He steered with his own hand the vessel in which he sailed towards the very spot where the Achaeans were said to have landed in the Trojan war. He was, as has been said, a great admirer of Homer, a copy of whose works he always carried with him; and on landing on the Asiatic coast he first visited the plain of Troy, crowned with a garland the pillar at Sigēum, said to mark the tumulus of his mythical ancestor Achilles, and paid it the customary honour by anointing himself with oil and running round it naked.

From Ilium he marched northwards along the coast of the Propontis. The satraps of Lydia and Ionia, together with other Persian generals, were encamped on the river Granīcus, with a force of 20,000 Greek mercenaries, and about an equal number of native cavalry, with which they prepared to dispute the passage of the river. A Rhodian, named Memnon, had the chief command.

Battle of Granīcus.

Parmenio advised Alexander to delay the attack till the following morning; to which he replied, that it would be a bad omen at the beginning of his expedition, if, after passing the Hellespont, he should be stopped by a paltry stream. The passage, however, was by no means easy. The stream was in many parts so deep as to be hardly fordable, and the opposite bank was steep and rugged. The Persians had lined the opposite bank with cavalry instead of infantry as the first line, and though the Macedonian cavalry were unable to force their way up the bank, the Persian horse could not withstand the attack of the Macedonian phalanx with its long spears, led by Alexander himself. He charged into the thickest of the fray, and exposed himself so much that his life was often in imminent danger, and was saved only by his friend Cleitus. Having routed the Persians, he next attacked the Greek mercenaries, 2000 of whom were made prisoners, and the rest nearly all cut to pieces.

Alexander now marched southwards towards Sardis, which surrendered before he came within sight of its walls. Having left a garrison in that city, he arrived after a four days' march before Ephesus, which likewise capitulated on his approach. Magnesia, Tralles, and Miletus next fell into his hands, the last after a short siege. Halicarnassus made more resistance; but at length Memnon, who commanded the garrison, finding it no longer tenable, set fire to it in the night, and crossed over to Cos. Alexander caused it to be razed to the ground, and pursued his march along the southern coast of Asia Minor, with the view of seizing those towns which might afford shelter to a Persian fleet. The winter was now approaching, and Alexander sent a considerable part of his army under Parmenio into winter quarters at Sardis. He also sent back to Macedonia such officers and soldiers as had been recently married, on condition that they should return in the spring with what reinforcements they could raise; and with the same view he despatched an officer to recruit in the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile he himself with a chosen body proceeded along the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia, having instructed Parmenio to rejoin him in Phrygia in the spring, with the main body. After he had crossed the Xanthus most of the Lycian towns tendered their submission. On the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, Mount Climax, a spur of the Taurus range, runs abruptly into the sea, leaving only a

narrow passage at its foot, which is often overflowed. This was the case at the time of Alexander's approach. He therefore sent his main body by a long and difficult road across the mountains to Pergé; but he himself, who loved danger for its own sake, made his way with his body-guard along the shore, wading through water that was breast-high for nearly a whole day. Then forcing his way northwards through the tribes which inhabited the mountains of Pisidia, he encamped near Gordium in Phrygia. Here he was rejoined by Parmenio; and new levies from Greece, amounting to about 3000 infantry and 500 cavalry, soon afterwards arrived. Gordium had been the capital of the early Phrygian kings, and in it was preserved with superstitious veneration the waggon in which it was said that Gordius, the father of Midas, had come into the town, to become its first king according to the oracle. An ancient prophecy promised the sovereignty of Asia to him who should untie the knot of bark which fastened the yoke of the waggon to the pole. Alexander overcame the difficulty by drawing his sword and cutting the obstinate knot: the people cried out that the prophecy was fulfilled, and their belief was strengthened by a great storm of thunder and lightning which followed.

In the spring of 333 Alexander pursued his march eastwards. He advanced through Cappadocia without resistance; and forcing his way through the passes of Mount Taurus (the *Pylae Ciliciae*), he descended into the plains of Cilicia. Hence he pushed on rapidly to Tarsus, which he found abandoned by the enemy. Whilst still heated with the march Alexander plunged into the cold stream of the Cydnus, which runs by the town. The result was a dangerous fever. An Acarnanian physician, named Philip, who accompanied him, prescribed a remedy; but at the same time Alexander received a letter informing him that Philip had been bribed by Darius, the Persian king, to poison him. He had, however, too much confidence in Philip to believe the accusation, and handed him the letter whilst he drank the draught. He recovered, and before long continued his march along the coast to Mallus, where he first received certain tidings of the great Persian army, commanded by Darius in person. It was posted near Issus, on the right bank of the little river Pĭnărus, and is said to have consisted of 600,000 fighting men, besides

Battle of Issus, 333 B.C.

a great train of attendants. The Persian king could hardly have been caught in a more unfavourable position, since the narrow and rugged plain between Mount Amānus and the sea gave no room for the proper formation of a large army; so that the Persians presented a narrow front with the great mass of their troops penned up uselessly in the rear. Alexander occupied the pass between Syria and Cilicia at midnight, and at daybreak began to descend into the valley of the Pinarus, ordering his troops to deploy into line as the plain widened, and thus to arrive in battle-array before the Persians. Darius had thrown 300,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry across the river, to check the advance of the Macedonians; whilst on the right bank were drawn up his choicest Persian troops to the number of 60,000, together with 30,000 Greek mercenaries, who formed the centre. The space allowed no more than these 90,000 men to be drawn up in line. Darius placed himself in the centre of the line in a magnificent state chariot. The banks of the Pinarus were in many parts steep, and where they were level Darius had caused them to be intrenched. As Alexander advanced, the Persian cavalry which had been thrown across the river were recalled; but the 20,000 infantry had been driven into the mountains, where Alexander held them in check with a small company of horse. The left wing of the Macedonians, under the command of Parmenio, was ordered to keep near the sea, to stop any flank movement of the enemy. The right wing was led by Alexander in person, who rushed impetuously into the water, and was soon engaged in close combat with the Persians, who fell back; and the rout was made general by the cowardice of Darius himself, who, when he saw his left wing driven back and the enemy near, leapt from his chariot, mounted a horse, and fled from the field. Upon this the whole army broke and took to flight, with a loss which some writers have placed at 100,000 slain in the battle and in the pursuit. The Persian camp became the spoil of the Macedonians. Here Alexander found a great store of treasure, said to amount to 3000 talents. In the tents of Darius, full of every luxury and magnificence, were Sisygambis and Statīra, the mother and wife of Darius. These were kept as hostages, but were treated with the greatest kindness and respect.

Meanwhile, Darius, attended by a body of only 4000 fugitives.

had crossed the Euphrates at Thapsăcus. Before he had set out from Babylon the whole forces of the empire had been summoned; but he had not thought it worth while to wait for what he deemed a merely useless encumbrance; and the more distant levies, which comprised some of the best troops of the empire, were still hastening towards Babylon. In a short time, therefore, he would be at the head of a still larger army than that which had fought at Issus; but he thought it safer to open negotiations with Alexander than to trust to the chance of arms. With this view he sent offers of alliance; but Alexander told him that he must in future be addressed not in the language of an equal, but of a subject. The further attack upon Persia itself was, however, postponed for a time, since Alexander wished first to subdue Phoenicia, on which depended all the maritime strength of Persia, and to overthrow the rule of Darius in Egypt.

As Alexander advanced southwards, all the towns of Phoenicia hastened to open their gates; the inhabitants of Sidon even hailed him as their deliverer. Tyre, also, sent to tender her submission; but Alexander told them that he would visit their city and offer sacrifices to Melcart, a Tyrian deity, whom the Greeks identified with Heracles. The Tyrians refused to admit any foreigners within their walls, saying that, if he wished to sacrifice to Melcart, he would find another and more ancient shrine in Old Tyre, on the mainland. Alexander dismissed the Tyrian ambassadors, and prepared to besiege the city. Tyre was by nature a place of great strength, and had been made still stronger by art. The island on which it stood was half a mile from the mainland; and though the channel was shallow near the coast, it deepened to three fathoms under the town. The shores were rocky and precipitous, and the walls rose from the cliffs to the height of 150 feet in solid masonry. As Alexander had no ships, the only method by which he could approach the town was by building a causeway across the strait. The Tyrians at first destroyed a great part of the work; but Alexander got ships from Sidon and Cyprus to guard it, and at length the causeway reached the foot of the walls; and as soon as Alexander had effected a breach, he ordered a general assault. The breach was stormed under the direction of Alexander himself. The Tyrians made a desperate resistance, but they were at length overpowered and the town was given

Siege of Tyre.

up to pillage. The siege had lasted seven months, and the Macedonians were exasperated by the difficulties and dangers they had undergone. They granted no quarter: 8000 of the citizens are said to have been massacred; and the remainder were sold into slavery to the number of 30,000. Tyre was taken in the month of July in 332.

Whilst Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, Darius sent new proposals, offering 10,000 talents as the ransom of his family, together with all the provinces west of the Euphrates, and his daughter Barsiné in marriage; but he could not obtain any terms of peace. When his offers were submitted to the council, Parmenio observed, that were he Alexander he would accept them. "And so would I," replied the king, "were I Parmenio."

After the fall of Tyre, Alexander marched with his army towards Egypt, whilst his fleet sailed along the coast. Gaza, a strong fortress on the sea-shore, obstinately held out, and delayed him for three or four months. It is a blot upon the fame of Alexander that he ordered the brave governor, Batis, to be tied to the back of his chariot, and dragged him round the city till he died, in foolish and cruel imitation of the revenge which Achilles took upon Hector. After the capture of this city Alexander met his fleet at Pelusium, and ordered it to sail up the Nile as far as Memphis, whither he himself marched across the desert. He won the affection of the Egyptians by the respect with which he treated their superstitions, whilst the Persians by the opposite conduct had incurred their hatred.

Foundation of Alexandria, 332 B.C.

He then sailed down the western branch of the Nile, and at its mouth traced the plan of the new city of Alexandria, which for many centuries was to be not only the grand emporium of Europe, Africa, and India, but also the chief centre of literature. Being now on the confines of Libya, Alexander resolved to visit the oracle of Zeus Ammon, which lay in the heart of the Libyan wilderness. He consulted the oracle in secret, and is said never to have disclosed the answer which he received; though that it was an answer that contented him appeared from the magnificence of the offerings which he made. Some said that Ammon saluted him as the son of Zeus.

Alexander returned to Phoenicia in the spring of 331. He

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS

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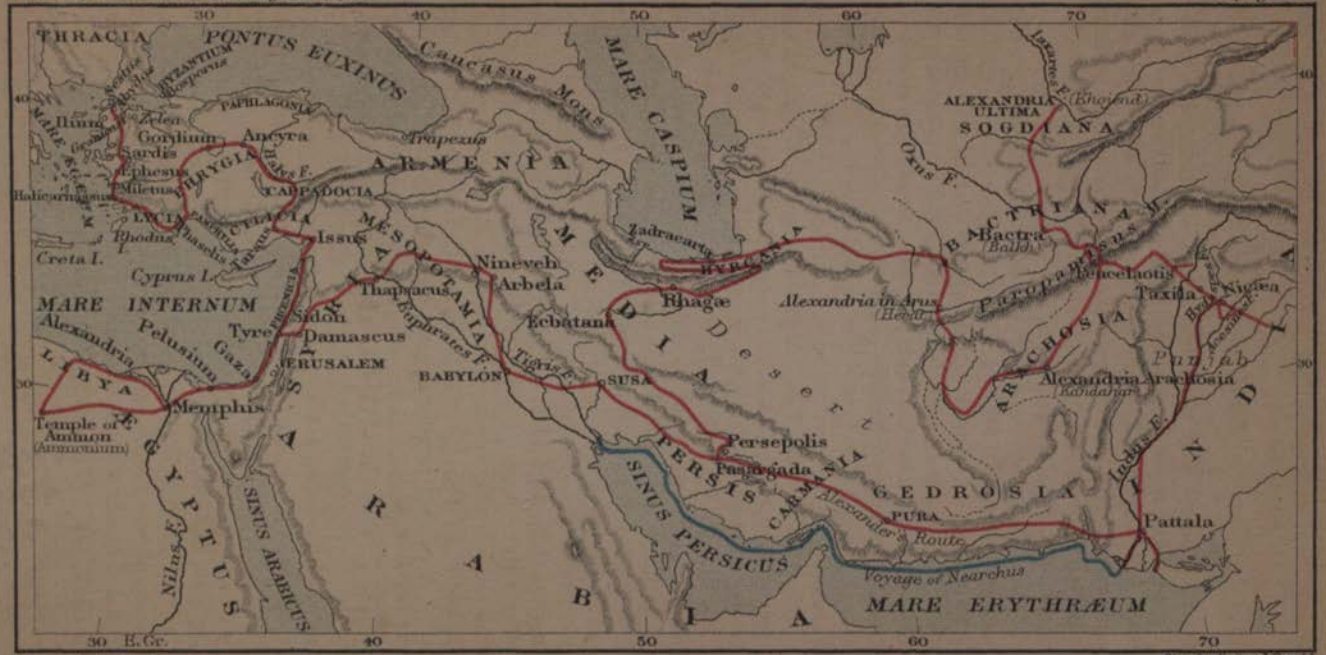


London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

then directed his march through Palestine, halting on his way at Samaria to punish a revolt of the inhabitants, and arrived at Thapsăcus on the Euphrates about the end of August. Pushing on to the north-east, where the country was more fertile, he crossed the Tigris which had been left unguarded. He then turned southwards along its banks, and after four days' march fell in with a few squadrons of the enemy's cavalry. From some of these who were made prisoners Alexander learned that Darius was encamped between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, near a village called Gaugamēla (the Camel's House). The town of Arbēla, after which the battle that ensued is often named, lay at about twenty miles distance, and there Darius had deposited his baggage and treasure. Alexander, after giving his army a few days' rest, set out to meet the enemy soon after midnight, in order that he might come up with them about daybreak. On ascending some sand-hills the whole array of the Persians suddenly burst upon the view of the Macedonians, at the distance of three or four miles. Darius, remembering his difficulties at Issus, had now chosen a wide plain with plenty of room for his great army. He himself, in his chariot, was in the centre: at various points in front of the line were scythed-chariots and elephants. The Persian army was said to number 1,000,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry. The Macedonian army consisted of 40,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry. Alexander halted for the night in an entrenched camp on the sand-hills so as to attack at daybreak. For the attack the chief strength of the Macedonians was formed into the phalanx; Alexander with his Companion cavalry being on the right, Parmenio with the rest of the cavalry commanding on the left. The war-chariots, on which Darius relied to throw the Macedonian advance into disorder, were dispersed by archers, and Alexander with his cavalry led the phalanx straight at the part of the Persian line where Darius himself was posted. Again the king's courage failed. When he saw the great wedge of the phalanx breaking through his ranks, he turned his chariot and fled. The rout of all the Persian left and centre then became general, and though the Persian Mazaeus on the right offered more resistance, and had almost succeeded in driving back Parmenio, he could not hold his ground after the flight of the rest of the army. The

Battle of Gaugamela, or Arbela, 331 B.C.

victory was complete, and in fact made Alexander at once the real ruler of Persia. Darius was a fugitive, without any hope of gathering a new army.

Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis occupied.

Finding any pursuit of Darius at present useless, Alexander now directed his march towards Babylon, and made his triumphant entry into the city in a chariot at the head of his army. He was welcomed gladly by the inhabitants; for under the Persian sway the Chaldaean religion had been oppressed, and both priests and people rejoiced at the downfall of Darius. Alexander observed here the same politic conduct which he had adopted in Egypt. He caused the ruined temples to be restored, and Babylon was to be the capital of his new empire, the worship of Belus to be maintained. Susa also surrendered without a blow to the Macedonians, who found there an even greater treasure than had been captured at Babylon, amounting, it is said, to 50,000 talents (more than £11,000,000). But the interest of the Greeks must have been especially roused by the discovery of the spoils carried off from Greece by Xerxes. Among them were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which Alexander now sent back to Athens. It is possible that the bronze statues now at Naples are copies of them.

At Susa Alexander received reinforcements of about 15,000 men from Greece. He then directed his march south-eastwards towards Persepolis, through the mountainous territory of the Uxians, who refused him a passage unless he paid the usual tribute which they were in the habit of extorting even from the Persian kings. But Alexander routed them with great slaughter. It was now necessary to force a passage through the narrow defile in the mountains round Persepolis, called the "Susian" or "Persian" Gates. This he accomplished by leading a body of men by night over the mountains and taking the defenders of the pass in the rear, as the Persians had done at Thermopylae. Persepolis then fell into his hands. It was the real capital of the Persian kings, though they generally resided at Susa during the winter, and at Ecbatāna in summer. The treasure found there exceeded that both of Babylon and Susa, and is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or about £26,000,000 sterling. He gave over the city to be sacked and burnt, either because he had been enraged by finding there some mutilated Greek

prisoners, or from a wish to mark the decisive overthrow of the Persian empire. Whatever the motive, the cruelty cannot be defended. At the same time Pasargadae surrendered, the city in which was the tomb of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy.

Thus in between three and four years after crossing the Hellespont, Alexander had established himself on the Persian throne. But Darius, who had fled to Ecbatăna, was not yet in his power. It was not till early in 330 that Alexander quitted Persepolis to resume the pursuit of the fugitive king. At Ecbatăna he learned that Darius had already fled, and he followed through Media by forced marches to Ragae, a distance of three hundred miles from Ecbatăna, in eleven days. Here he heard that Darius had already passed the defile called the "Caspian Gates," leading into the Bactrian provinces. He allowed his troops five days' rest, and then resumed his march. Soon after passing the Gates he learned that Darius had been seized and loaded with chains by his own satrap Bessus, and he pressed forward still more hastily. On the fourth day he came in sight of the fugitives. Bessus now endeavoured to persuade Darius to mount a horse and flee with him, and, when he refused, stabbed him and left him mortally wounded in the chariot. Alexander found him already dead, and threw his own cloak over the body. It was afterwards given up to the queen-mother, Sisygambis, for honourable burial.

Death of Darius, 330 B.C.

The next three years were employed by Alexander in subduing Hyrcania, Drangiana, Bactria, and Sogdiana, and the other northern provinces of the Persian empire. In these distant regions he founded several cities, one of which in Aria, called after him (Alexandria Ariorum), is still, under the name of *Herat*, one of the chief cities in central Asia. Alexander's stay in Prophthasia, the capital of Drangiana, was signalized by a supposed conspiracy against his life, formed by Philōtas, the son of Parmenio. He was put to the torture, and not only confessed his own guilt in his agonies, but also implicated his father. Philōtas was executed, and an order was sent to Ecbatăna, where Parmenio then was, directing that he should be put to death. A letter, purporting to be from his son, was handed to him; and he was

Alexander in Central Asia.

slain while he was engaged in reading it. It is certain that he was innocent, and there was little proof against Philōtas. The whole procedure was unjust and cruel, and has left a stain upon the memory of Alexander.

Meantime Bessus had assumed the royal dignity in Bactria; but upon Alexander's approach he fled across the Oxus into Sogdiana. Early in the summer of 329 Alexander followed him across the Oxus; and shortly afterwards Bessus was betrayed by two of his own officers into the hands of Alexander. Bessus was carried to Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria, where he was brought before a Persian court, and put to death in a cruel and barbarous manner.

Alexander even crossed the river Jaxartes (*Sir*), and defeated the Scythians. Sogdiana alone of the northern provinces offered any serious resistance to his arms. Accordingly in 328 he again crossed the Oxus. He divided his army into five bodies, ordering them to scour the country in different directions. With the troops under his own command he marched against the fortress called the Sogdian Rock, built on an isolated hill, so precipitous that it was considered inaccessible. The summons to surrender was treated with derision by the commander, who asked whether the Macedonians had wings. But a small body of Macedonians having succeeded in scaling some heights which overhung the fortress, the garrison became so alarmed that they immediately surrendered. To this place a Bactrian named Oxyartes, an adherent of Bessus, had sent his daughters for safety. One of them, named Roxāna, who was very beautiful, became the wife of Alexander.

At Maracanda (now *Samarcand*) he appointed his friend Cleitus satrap of Bactria. On the eve of the parting Alexander celebrated a festival in honour of the Dioscūri. At the banquet several of the courtiers heaped the most extravagant flattery upon Alexander. Cleitus, already heated by wine, rebuked them with imprudent frankness, ascribing the chief merit of their victories to Philip, who had made the Macedonians a military power; and then he added, "It was this hand, Alexander, which saved your life at the battle of Granīcus!" The king, who was half intoxicated, was so enraged by these words, that he rushed forward with a drawn sword; but he was held back by his friends, and Cleitus was hurried out of the room. Alexander,

however, was no sooner released than, snatching a spear, he sprang to the door, and meeting Cleitus, who was returning in equal fury to brave his anger, he ran him through the body. But when the deed was done he was seized with remorse. He flung himself on his couch, and remained for three whole days in an agony of grief, refusing all sustenance, and calling on the names of Cleitus and of his sister Lanicé, who had been his nurse.

After reducing Sogdiana, Alexander returned into Bactria in 327, and began to prepare for his expedition into India. Whilst he was thus employed, a plot was formed against his life by the royal pages, incited by Hermolaus, one of their number, who had been scourged for anticipating the king during a hunting party in slaying a wild boar. Hermolaus and his associates, among whom was Callisthenes, a pupil of Aristotle, were first tortured, and then put to death. It seems certain that a conspiracy existed; but no less certain that the tyrannical temper and pride of Alexander were gradually alienating from him the hearts of his followers.

Alexander did not leave Bactria till late in the spring. He recrossed the Paropamisus chain (*Hindoo Koosh*), and, marching by Cabul and the Cophen (*Cabul River*), crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats near Taxila, the present *Attock*. He now found himself in the district at present called the *Punjab* (or the *Five Rivers*). Taxiles, the sovereign of the district, at once surrendered Taxila, his capital, and joined the Macedonian force with 5000 men. Hence Alexander proceeded with little resistance to the river Hydaspes (*Jelum*). On the opposite bank, Porus, a powerful Indian king, prepared to dispute his progress with a numerous and well-appointed force. Alexander by a skilful stratagem conveyed his army safely across the river. An obstinate battle then ensued. In the first cavalry charge the Macedonian horses could not be brought to face the elephants, but in the end the Indians were completely defeated. Porus himself, whose courage in the fight had won the admiration of the Greeks, was brought before Alexander, who asked how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," he replied. "And have you no other request?" again asked Alexander. "No," answered Porus; "everything is comprehended in the word king."

Expedition into India, 327 B.C.

Struck by his magnanimity, Alexander not only restored him to his dominions, but also considerably enlarged them.

Alexander rested a month on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he celebrated his victory by games and sacrifices, and founded two towns, one of which he named Nicaea, and the other Bucephăla, in honour of his gallant charger Bucephalus, which is said to have died there. He then overran the whole of the Punjab, as far as the Hyphăsis (*Gharra*). This was the furthest point which he reached, for the Macedonians, tired of warfare, refused to go further, and Alexander, after vain attempts to persuade them, was obliged to lead them back. He returned to the Hydaspes, and he ordered part of his army to descend the river on both banks; whilst he himself, at the head of 8000 men, embarked on board a fleet of about 2000 vessels, which he had ordered to be prepared with the view of sailing down the Indus to its mouth.

The army began to move in November, 327. The navigation lasted several months, but was accomplished without any serious opposition, except from the tribe of the Malli, who probably occupied the site of the present *Mooltan*. At the storming of their town the life of Alexander was in great danger. He was the first to scale the walls of the citadel, and was followed by four officers; but before a fifth man could mount, the ladder broke, and Alexander was cut off from the rest of his followers. Leaping down into the citadel among the enemy, he placed his back to the wall, where he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay, till an arrow which pierced his corselet brought him to the ground. Two of his followers, who had jumped down after him, now defended him; and at length, more soldiers having scaled the walls and opened one of the gates, sufficient numbers poured in not only to rescue their king, but to capture the citadel. The whole garrison was put to the sword. He reached the Indian Ocean about the middle of 326, having founded a city at the junction of the Acĕsĭnes (*Chessab*) with the Indus, and another at Pattala in the delta of the Indus. Nearchus with the fleet was directed to explore the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the view of establishing a maritime communication between India and Persia. Alexander himself proceeded with his army, in the autumn

Return to Persia.

of 326, through the deserts of Gedrosia, in which the army suffered severely from want of water. He marched himself on foot, sharing the privations and fatigues of the meanest soldier. At length he reached the fertile province of Carmania.

At Susa (325 B.C.) Alexander allowed his soldiers to repose from their fatigues, and framed various measures with the view of consolidating his empire. One of the most important was to form the Greeks and Persians into one people by means of intermarriages. He adopted the Oriental rule allowing more than one wife, and himself married Statīra, the eldest daughter of Darius, giving her sister in marriage to Hephaestion. It is said that no fewer than 10,000 of the soldiers took native wives. As another means of amalgamating the two races, he enrolled numbers of the Asiatics into the army, trained in the Macedonian fashion. But these innovations were disliked by most of the Macedonian veterans; and this feeling was increased by the conduct of Alexander himself, who assumed every day more and more of the state and manners of an eastern despot. Their dissatisfaction broke out into open mutiny at a review which took place at Opis on the Tigris. But the mutiny was quelled by the decisive conduct of Alexander. He ordered thirteen of the ringleaders to be executed, and then, addressing the others, reminded them how, by his own and his father's exertions, they had been raised from the condition of herdsmen to be the masters of Greece and of Asia; how he had given up to them the richest and most valuable fruits of his conquest, reserving only the crown for himself; and how base a return they were making by mutiny and desertion. He then secluded himself for two whole days, appointing a Persian instead of a Macedonian guard. The Macedonian soldiers felt their disgrace, and begged with tears to be restored to favour.

In the autumn Alexander went to Ecbatana, where his friend Hephaestion died of a fever. This loss threw Alexander into a deep melancholy, from which he never entirely recovered. The memory of Hephaestion was honoured by public mourning, and his body was taken for burial to Babylon.

Alexander entered Babylon in the spring of 324, notwithstanding the warnings of the priests of Belus, who predicted some evil to him if he entered the city at that time. But the mind of Alexander was still occupied with plans of conquest;

his next design was the subjugation of Arabia; which was to be only the stepping-stone to the conquest of the whole known world. He despatched three expeditions to survey the coast of Arabia; ordered a fleet to be built to explore the Caspian sea; and engaged himself in surveying the course of the Euphrates, and in devising improvements of its navigation. The period for beginning the Arabian campaign had already arrived; solemn sacrifices were offered up for its success, and banquets were given, at which Alexander drank deeply, and aggravated a malarious fever which he had caught in his survey of the Euphrates. For some days, however, he neglected the disorder, and continued to occupy himself with the preparations for the march. But the malady proved fatal, and he died on the 28th of June, B.C. 323, at the early age of 32. Whilst he lay speechless on his death-bed his favourite troops were admitted to see him; but he could only show his recognition by stretching out his hand.

Death of Alexander, 323 B.C.

The life of Alexander forms an important epoch in history, and he himself must rank as one of the most remarkable men of all ages and countries. It would be hard to name any one whose career has been more brilliant, especially when it is remembered that all his achievements were crowded into twelve years, and that he died before he reached middle life; younger, in fact, at the time of his death than Julius Caesar was when he began his public life. As a general no one has had greater successes. It is true that, as the Romans were glad to remark, his Asiatic opponents were, like other Asiatics, bad and untrustworthy troops, such as have been in other ages defeated by small forces. But he had overcome Greek troops before he started for Asia, and in Asia itself Greeks were opposed to him. At Granicus 20,000 Greeks fought in the Persian army; at Issus, 30,000. Looking, therefore, to his *uniform* success, it is not right to set it all down to the fact that his enemies were a mob of unwarlike Asiatics. But a stronger proof of his rank among the greatest of military commanders is afforded by his strategy, and by the fact that his arrangements for long and difficult marches, carefully planned beforehand, and for drawing reinforcements from Greece into the heart of Asia, never once failed. His marches through such country as the defiles of the "Susian Gates" and

the Hindoo Koosh alone are evidence of wonderful skill. Of his power to organize and control the great empire which he won there is less certain evidence, because the proof of that was to come in the next twenty or thirty years, which he never saw. But in his dealings with Greece, Egypt, and Persia he had already given signs of political capacity, which makes it likely that he, like Napoleon, would have proved himself scarcely less able as a ruler than as a conqueror. His character seems to have been naturally chivalrous and generous, though easily affected by fits of passion; but it must be confessed that it was not improved by his Eastern conquests. His treatment of Batis, Philotas, Parmenio, and Callisthenes, and his adoption of the state and the tyrannical manners of an Asiatic despot, seem to show that, except personal bravery, little of his old chivalry remained.

His importance in history is due not merely to his opening up countries unknown to Western nations. In spite of the break-up of his plans and the general confusion which followed his premature death, there were great results from his policy of founding cities to mark his conquests, and planting in them populations which spread the Greek language, and in some cases the Greek learning.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS, 323–126 B.C.

THE vast empire of Alexander the Great was divided, at his death, among his generals; but, before relating their history, it is necessary to look back at the affairs of Greece.

Affairs in Greece.

Three years after Alexander had quitted Europe the Spartans made a vigorous effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke. They were joined by most of the Peloponnesian states; but though they met with some success at first, they were finally defeated by Antipăter near Megalopolis. Agis fell in the battle, and the chains of Greece were riveted more firmly than ever. This victory, and the successes of Alexander in the East, encouraged the Macedonian party in Athens to attack Demosthenes; and Aeschines revived an old charge against him. Soon after the battle of Chaeronēa, Ctesiphon had proposed that Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown in the theatre during the Dionysiac festival, for his services to his country. Ctesiphon was now indicted by Aeschines for this proposal, which was said to be illegal; but though he was the nominal defendant, it was Demosthenes who was really put upon his trial. The case was decided in 330 B.C., and has been immortalized by the speeches of Aeschines "Against Ctesiphon," and of Demosthenes "On the Crown." Aeschines, who did not obtain a fifth part of the votes, and consequently became himself liable to a fine of 1000 drachmae, was so much cast down by his defeat that he retired to Rhodes.

Aeschines and Demosthenes.

In 325 B.C. Harpălus arrived in Athens. He had been left by Alexander at Ecbatana in charge of the treasures, but during Alexander's absence in India he used the treasures for his own luxury, and oppressed the people under his rule. When he

heard that the king, whom he probably never expected to come back alive, was actually on his way to Susa, he collected 6000 mercenaries, and taking all the treasures he could lay his hands upon, he hastened to the coast of Asia, and thence crossed over to Attica. For a time he secured himself at Athens by bribing some of the party leaders, but when Harpalus was put into prison, some of the Athenian orators, among whom was Demosthenes, were brought to trial. Demosthenes was declared to be guilty, and was condemned to pay a fine of 50 talents. Not being able to raise that sum, he was thrown into prison; but he contrived to make his escape, and went into exile. There are good grounds for doubting his guilt; and it is more probable that he fell a victim to the hatred of the Macedonian party. Till Alexander's death he lived partly at Troezen, partly at Aegina, within sight of his native land.

When the news of Alexander's death reached Athens, the anti-Macedonian party, which, since the exile of Demosthenes, had been led by Hypereides, carried all before it. The people passed a decree to maintain the liberty of Greece. Envoys were despatched to all the Grecian states; but this call was responded to in the Peloponnesus only by the smaller states. Sparta, Arcadia, and Achaia kept aloof. In northern Greece the confederacy was joined by most states except the Boeotians; and Leosthenes was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

Movement in Greece after Alexander's death.

The allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae. Antipater advanced from the north, and offered battle in the valley of the Sperchēus; but being deserted by his Thessalian cavalry, who went over to his opponents during the heat of the engagement, he was obliged to retreat, and threw himself into Lamia, a strong fortress on the Malian gulf. Leosthenes was unable to take the town by assault, and the siege became a blockade. From this town the contest between Antipater and the allied Greeks has been called the Lamian War.

Lamian War.

The victory over the Macedonian arms caused great joy at Athens, and the arrival of an embassy from Antipater to sue for peace so elated them, that they would listen to no terms but the unconditional surrender of Lamia and its garrison. Meantime Demosthenes, though still an exile, exerted himself in various

parts of the Peloponnesus to gain adherents to the cause of Athens and the allies. The Athenians in return invited Demosthenes back to his native country, and a ship was sent to convey him to Peiraeus, where he was received with great honours.

Meanwhile Leonnatus, governor of the Hellespontine Phrygia, came to help Antipater with an army of 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. Leosthenes had been slain at Lamia in a sally of the besieged; and Antiphilus, on whom the command of the allied army devolved, hastened to offer battle to Leonnatus before he could arrive at Lamia. The armies met in Thessaly; Leonnatus was killed and his troops defeated. Antipater, as soon as the blockade of Lamia was raised, had pursued Antiphilus, and on the day after the battle he effected a junction with the beaten army of Leonnatus. Shortly afterwards he was still further reinforced by the arrival of Cratĕrus with a considerable force from Asia; and being now at the head of an army which outnumbered the forces of the allies, he marched against them, and gained a decisive victory over them near Crannon in Thessaly, on the 7th of August, 322 B.C. The allies were now compelled to sue for peace; but Antipater refused to treat with them except as separate states, foreseeing that by this means many would be detached from the confederacy. One by one the various states submitted, till at length all had laid down their arms. Athens now lay at the mercy of the conqueror. As Antipater advanced, Phocion used all the influence which he possessed with the Macedonians in favour of his countrymen; but he could obtain no other terms than an unconditional surrender. On a second mission Phocion received the final demands of Antipater; which were, that the Athenians should deliver up a certain number of their orators, among whom were Demosthenes and Hypereides; that those only should have the franchise who had a certain amount of property, so that the government would no longer be a complete democracy; that they should receive a Macedonian garrison in Munychia; and that they should defray the expenses of the war. The Lamian war left the Macedonian power stronger than ever in Greece.

Battle of Crannon, 322 B.C.

Antipater advances upon Athens.

After the return of the envoys bringing the ultimatum of Antipater, Demādes procured a decree for the death of Demosthenes and the other anti-Macedonian orators; but they made their escape from Athens before the Macedonian garrison arrived. Aegina was their first place of refuge, but they soon parted in different directions. Hypereides fled to the temple of Demeter at Hermioné in Peloponnesus, whilst Demosthenes took refuge in that of Poseidon in the isle of Calaurēa, near Troezen. But the soldiers of Antipater, guided by a Thurian named Archias, who had once been an actor, seized them in their sanctuaries. Hypereides was put to death at Athens, and it is said that Antipater took the brutal revenge of ordering his tongue to be cut out. Demosthenes contrived at least to escape the insults of the conqueror. Archias at first tried to entice him from his sanctuary. But Demosthenes exclaimed, "Your acting, Archias, never touched me formerly, nor do your promises now." And when Archias began to employ threats, "Now," said Demosthenes, "you speak as from the Macedonian tripod; before you were only playing a part. But wait awhile, and let me write my last words to my family." So taking his writing materials, he put the reed into his mouth, and then covering his head with his garment, he leant against a pillar. He had concealed poison in the reed, and when he felt it work, he bade the soldiers take him where they would. "At least, O Poseidon," he said, "I have not poiluted thy temple by my death, which Antipater and his Macedonians would not have avoided." But while he tried to quit the temple, he fell by the altar and died.

Fate of the anti-Macedonian party.

Death of Demosthenes.

Alexander on his death-bed is said to have given his signet-ring to Perdiccas, but he had left no legitimate heir to his throne, though his wife Roxana was pregnant. On the day after Alexander's death a military council was assembled, in which Perdiccas took the lead, and the following settlement was made: That Philip Arrhidaeus, a young man of weak intellect, the half-brother of Alexander, should be declared king, reserving, however, to the child of Roxana, if a son should be born, a share in the sovereignty: that the government of Macedonia and Greece should be divided between Antipater and Cratĕrus: that Ptolemy should have

Alexander's successors.

Regency of Perdiccas.

Egypt and the adjacent countries; Antigŏnus Phrygia Proper, Lycia, and Pamphylia; Leonnātus the Hellespontine Phrygia; Eumĕnes the satrapy of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia (which countries, however, still remained to be subdued); and that Lysimăchus should have Thrace. Perdiccas reserved for himself the command of the horse-guards, the post before held by Hephaestion, in virtue of which he became the guardian of Philip Arrhidaeus, the nominal sovereign. In due time Roxana was delivered of a son, to whom the name of Alexander was given, and who was declared the partner of Arrhidaeus in the empire. Roxana had previously inveigled Statīra and her sister Drypĕtis to Babylon, where she caused them to be assassinated.

Perdiccas possessed more power than any of Alexander's generals, and he now aspired to the Macedonian throne. His designs were not unknown to Antigŏnus and Ptolemy; and when he attempted to bring Antigŏnus to trial for some offence in the government of his satrapy, that general made his escape to Macedonia, where he revealed to Antipater and to Cratĕrus the schemes of Perdiccas. All four generals joined in a league against the regent. Thus assailed on all sides, Perdiccas resolved to direct his arms in the first instance against Ptolemy. In the spring of 321 B.C. he set out against Egypt, at the head of a formidable army, accompanied by Philip Arrhidaeus, and Roxana and her infant son. He advanced without opposition as far as Pelusium, but he found the banks of the Nile strongly fortified and guarded by Ptolemy, and was repulsed in repeated attempts to force the passage of the river; in the last of which, near Memphis, he lost great numbers of men by the depth and rapidity of the current. Perdiccas had never been popular with the soldiery, and these disasters completely alienated their affections. A conspiracy was formed against him, and some of his chief officers murdered him in his tent.

Coalition against Perdiccas; his death, 321 B.C.

The death of Perdiccas was followed by a fresh distribution of the provinces of the empire. At a meeting of the generals held at Triparadisus in Syria, towards the end of the year 321 B.C., Antipater was declared regent, retaining the government of Macedonia and Greece; Ptolemy retained the government of

Egypt; Seleucus received the satrapy of Babylon; whilst Antigonus not only kept his old province, but was rewarded with that of Susiana.

Antipater died in the year 318, at the age of 80, leaving Polysperchon, one of Alexander's oldest generals, regent; much to the surprise and mortification of Cassander, the son of Antipater, who received only the secondary dignity of Chiliarch, or commander of the cavalry. Cassander was now bent on obtaining the regency; but seeing no hope of success in Macedonia, he went over to Asia to seek the help of Antigonus.

Regency of Polysperchon.

Polysperchon tried to conciliate the Greek states, by proclaiming them all free and independent; and he prepared to march into Greece, whilst his son Alexander was sent with an army towards Athens, to compel the Macedonian garrison under the command of Nicānor to evacuate Munychia. Phocion was suspected, and, as seems likely, rightly suspected, of intriguing in favour of Nicānor, and, being accused of treason, fled to Alexander, now encamped before the walls of Athens. Alexander sent Phocion to his father, who, to please the Athenians, sent him back to Athens to be tried by them, and he was condemned to death. To the last he maintained a calm and dignified, but somewhat contemptuous, bearing. To one who asked him whether he had any message to leave for his son Phocus, he answered, "Only that he bear no grudge against the Athenians." He died in 317 B.C., at the age of 85. The Athenians are said to have afterwards repented of their conduct towards Phocion, and a bronze statue was erected to his memory. Phocion's opposition to Demosthenes, though, as has been said before, a mistaken policy, was honest. His intrigues with Nicānor and Polysperchon cannot be justified. The utmost that can be said for that part of his life is that he acted, not from any personal ambition, but because he thought the Macedonian rule in Athens safer for all his party than a democracy.

Polysperchon's troops at Athens: death of Phocion.

Whilst Alexander was negotiating with Nicānor about the surrender of Munychia, Cassander arrived in the Peiraeus with a considerable army, with which Antigonus had supplied him. Polysperchon was obliged to retire from Athens, and Cassander established an

Athens occupied by Cassander.

oligarchical government in the city under the presidency of Demetrius of Phalērus.

Although Polysperchon was supported by Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, he proved no match for Cassander, who became master of Macedonia after the fall of Pydna in 316 B.C. In this city Olympias had taken refuge, together with Roxana and her son; but after a blockade of some months it was forced to surrender. Olympias had stipulated that her life should be spared, but Cassander soon afterwards caused her to be murdered, and kept Roxana and her son in custody in the citadel of Amphipolis. Shortly afterwards Cassander began the restoration of Thebes (315 B.C.), in the twentieth year after its destruction by Alexander, a measure highly popular with the Greeks.

Cassander gains the chief power in Macedonia.

A new war now broke out in the East. Antigonus had become the most powerful of Alexander's successors. He had conquered Eumenes, who had long defied his arms, and he now began to dispose of the provinces as he thought fit. His increasing power led to a general coalition against him, consisting of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimăchus, the governor of Thrace. The war began in the year 315, and was carried on with varying results in Syria, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Greece. After four years all parties became exhausted with the struggle, and peace was concluded in 311, on condition that the Greek cities should be free, that Cassander should retain his authority in Europe till Alexander came of age, that Ptolemy and Lysimachus should keep possession of Egypt and Thrace respectively, and that Antigonus should have the government of all Asia.

Power of Antigonus in Asia.

When peace had thus for a time been patched up, Cassander sought to secure his power by the murder of the young Alexander and his mother Roxana, whom he had kept under guard at Amphipolis. This crime was not the immediate cause of the renewal of the war. Ptolemy first broke the peace (B.C. 310), under the pretext that Antigonus, by keeping his garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia and the islands, had not respected that article of the treaty which guaranteed freedom to Greece.

Murder of the young Alexander.

After the war had lasted three years Antigonus resolved to wrest Greece from the hands of Cassander and Ptolemy, who held all the principal towns in it. Accordingly, in the summer of 307 B.C. he sent his son Demetrius, who was afterwards distinguished by the surname Poliorcētes ("besieger of cities"), from Ephesus to Athens with a fleet of 250 ships and 5000 talents in money. When Demetrius reached Peiraeus he immediately proclaimed the object of his expedition to be the liberation of Athens and the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison. Supported by the Macedonians, Demetrius the Phalerean had now ruled Athens for a period of more than ten years. The Athenians, glad to be rid of the Macedonian yoke, welcomed Poliorcētes. Athens fell into his hands, and the Macedonian garrison was driven from Munychia. Demetrius of Phalerus went into exile and lived in Egypt, devoting himself to literature.

Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens.

As soon as he was master of Athens, Demetrius Poliorcētes restored to the Athenians their democratic constitution, and promised them a large donative of corn and ship-timber. The Athenians showed their gratitude by the most abject flattery. Both Demetrius and his father were deified, and two new tribes, those of Antigonias and Demetrius, were added to the existing ten. Demetrius did not, however, remain long at Athens. Early in 306 B.C. he was recalled by his father, and, sailing to Cyprus, undertook the siege of Salamis. Ptolemy hastened to its relief with 140 vessels and 10,000 troops. In the battle which followed Ptolemy was completely defeated, and Antigonus assumed the title of king, which he also conferred upon his son. His example was followed by Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus. There were now three distinct kingdoms, besides Macedon itself, formed out of the empire of Alexander: the north of Asia Minor ruled by Antigonus, Syria by Seleucus and Egypt by Ptolemy. Lysimachus, the fourth of those who took the title of king, at this time held Thrace and the district south of the Danube, but reigned over a much larger kingdom afterwards.

Demetrius next undertook an expedition against Rhodes, which had refused its aid in the attack upon Ptolemy. It was from the siege of Rhodes that Demetrius obtained his name of "Poliorcētes." After in vain attempting to take the

town from the sea-side, by means of floating batteries, from which stones were hurled from engines against the walls, he determined to invest it on the land-side. With the help of Epimachus, an Athenian engineer, he constructed a machine which, in anticipation of its effect, was called "Helepŏlis," or "the city-taker." This was a square wooden tower, 150 feet high, and divided into nine stories, filled with armed men. It is said that it required the strength of 2300 men to set this enormous machine in motion. But, in spite of it, the Rhodians were so active in repairing the breaches made in their walls, that, after a year spent in the vain attempt to take the town, Demetrius was forced to retire.

Siege of Rhodes.

In 301 B.C. the struggle between Antigonus and his rivals was brought to a close by the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, in which Antigonus, now 81 years old, was killed, and his army completely defeated. A third partition of the empire of Alexander was now made. Seleucus and Lysimachus shared between them the possessions of Antigonus. Lysimachus had the greater part of the northern provinces in Asia Minor: the whole country from the coast of Syria to the Euphrates, as well as a part of Phrygia and Cappadocia, belonged to Seleucus, who founded on the Orontes a new capital of his empire, named Antioch, after his father Antiochus, which long continued to be the most important Greek city in Asia. The fall of Antigonus secured Cassander in the possession of Greece.

Battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301.

In the following year Seleucus entered into an alliance with the dethroned king, Demetrius Poliorcētes, whose daughter he married, in order to counterbalance the union which Ptolemy had made with Lysimachus. Hence in the spring of the year 296 Demetrius was in a condition to attack Athens, which he captured after a long siege, and drove out the tyrant Lachares, who had been established there by Cassander.

Meanwhile Cassander had died shortly before the siege of Athens, and was succeeded on the throne of Macedon by his eldest son, Philip IV.* But that young prince died in 295, and the succession was disputed between his two brothers, Antipăter and Alexander. Demetrius availed himself of the distracted

* Philip Arrhidaeus is called Philip III.

state of Macedonia to make himself master of that country (294 B.C.). He reigned over Macedonia, and the greater part of Greece, about seven years. He aimed at recovering the whole of his father's dominions in Asia; but before he was ready to take the field, his opponents determined to forestall him. In the spring of 287 B.C. Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet against Greece, while Pyrrhus on the one side and Lysimachus on the other invaded Macedonia. Demetrius had made himself unpopular by his pride and by his lavish expenditure on his own luxuries. Pyrrhus, by his generosity and daring, had made himself the hero of the Macedonians, who looked upon him as a second Alexander, and flocked to his standard. Demetrius was compelled to fly, and Pyrrhus reigned over Macedonia; but not for long. At the end of seven months he was in turn driven out by Lysimachus. Demetrius made several attempts to regain his power in Greece, and then set sail for Asia, where he vainly endeavoured to recover some of his father's territories from Lysimachus and Seleucus. He was at length obliged to surrender himself to Seleucus, and died as a prisoner, treated, however, with kindness, three years afterwards, 283 B.C. Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy now shared between them the empire of Alexander, henceforth divided into the three great kingdoms of Macedon, Syria (which included most of the old Persian empire), and Egypt.

Demetrius, Pyrrhus, and Lysimachus in turn possess Macedonia.

The three kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.

In Egypt the aged Ptolemy had abdicated in 285 in favour of his son by Berenicé, afterwards known as Ptolemy Philadelphus, and to the exclusion of his eldest son, Ptolemy Ceraunus, by his wife Eurydicé. Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted Egypt in disgust, and fled to the court of Lysimachus; where Arsinoé, the wife of Lysimachus, desirous of securing the succession for her own children, made him her accomplice in the murder of her stepson Agathocles, to which Lysimachus himself was induced by false accusations to consent. Lysandra, the mother of Agathocles, fled with the rest of her family to Seleucus, whom she persuaded to take up her cause. The war which followed between him and Lysimachus was ended by the battle of Corupedion, fought near Sardis in 281,

Egypt.

Battle of Corupedion, 281 B.C.

in which Lysimachus was defeated and slain. Seleucus now regarded himself as possessor of all Alexander's empire, except Egypt, Cyprus, and part of Phoenicia; and he crossed the Hellespont to take possession of Macedonia. But as he was sacrificing at an altar near Lysimachia in Thrace, he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who after the battle of Corupedion had thrown himself on the mercy of Seleucus, and had been taken as a companion on this journey. After this base and cowardly act, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who gave himself out as the avenger of Lysimachus, was saluted by the army as king of Macedonia; but the Asiatic dominions of Seleucus fell to his son Antiochus, surnamed Soter. The crime of Ptolemy was speedily overtaken by a just punishment. In the very same year his kingdom of Macedonia and Thrace was invaded by a horde of Celts, and Ptolemy fell at the head of the forces which he led against them. A second invasion of the same barbarians compelled the Greeks to raise a force for their defence, which was intrusted to the command of the Athenian Callippus (279 B.C.). On this occasion the Celts penetrated as far southwards as Delphi, with the view of plundering the temple. They were repulsed with great loss, and their leader, Brennus, was among the slain. Some of them succeeded in establishing themselves near the Danube; others settled on the sea-coast of Thrace; whilst a third portion passed over into Asia, and gave their name to the country called Galatia.

Death of Ptolemy Ceraunus.

After the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, Macedonia fell for some time into a state of anarchy and confusion, and the crown was disputed by several pretenders. At length, in 278, Antigonus Gonātas, son of Demetrius Poliorcētes, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Macedonia; and with the exception of two or three years (274–272), during which he was temporarily expelled by Pyrrhus, he continued to retain possession of it till his death in 239. The struggle between Antigonus and Pyrrhus was brought to a close at Argos in 272. Pyrrhus marched into the Peloponnesus with a large force, and, having failed in an attempt to take Sparta, marched against Argos, where Antigonus also arrived with his forces. The two armies entered the city by opposite gates;

Death of Pyrrhus.

and in a battle which ensued in the streets Pyrrhus was struck from his horse by a tile hurled by a woman from a house-top, and was then despatched by some soldiers of Antigonus. Such was the end of one of the most famous military adventurers of antiquity. Though it is a mistake to rank him with Alexander in generalship, yet he was a great general; but he was not, like Alexander, a great conqueror. In this he failed from want of steady purpose in his enterprises. In his character, his life, and his death he might better be compared with Charles XII. of Sweden.

Antigonus Gonatas now made himself master of the greater part of Peloponnesus, which he governed by means of tyrants whom he established in various cities.

The Achaean League.

While all Greece, with the exception of Sparta, seemed hopelessly prostrate at the feet of Macedonia, a new political power, which brightens the declining period of Grecian history, arose in a small province in Peloponnesus, of which the very name has been hitherto rarely mentioned since the heroic age. In Achaia, a narrow slip of country upon the shores of the Corinthian gulf, a league, chiefly for religious purposes, had existed from a very early period among the twelve chief cities of the province. This league had never possessed much political importance, and it had been suppressed by the Macedonians. At the time of which we are speaking Antigonus Gonatas was in possession of all the cities formerly belonging to the league, either by means of his garrisons or of the tyrants who were subservient to him. It was, however, this very oppression that led to a revival of the league. The Achaean towns, now only ten in number, as two had been destroyed by earthquakes, began gradually to coalesce again about the year 280 B.C.; but Aratus of Sicyon, one of the most remarkable characters of this period of Grecian history, was the man who, in 251 B.C., first called the new league into active political existence. He had long lived in exile at Argos, whilst his native city groaned under the rule of tyrants. Having collected a band of exiles, he surprised Sicyon in the night-time, and drove out the last and most unpopular of these tyrants. Instead of seizing the tyranny for himself, as he might easily have done, Aratus consulted only the advantage of his country, and with this view united Sicyon with the Achaean League.

The accession of so important a town does not appear to have altered the constitution of the confederacy. The league was governed by a *Strategus*, or general, whose functions were both military and civil; a *Grammateus*, or secretary; and a council of ten *Demiurgi*. The supreme power belonged to the general assembly, which met twice a year in a sacred grove near Aegium. It was composed of every Achaean who had attained the age of thirty, and possessed the right of electing the officers of the league, and of deciding all questions of war, peace, foreign alliances, and the like. In the year 245 B.C. Aratus was elected *Strategus* of the league, and again in 243. In the latter of these years he succeeded in wresting Corinth from the Macedonians by another nocturnal surprise, and uniting it to the league. The confederacy now spread with wonderful rapidity. It was soon joined by Troezen, Epidaurus, Hermioné, and other cities; and ultimately embraced Athens, Megara, Aegina, Salamis, and the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta, Elis, and some of the Arcadian towns.

Sparta, it is true, still continued to retain her independence, but without a shadow of her former greatness and power. The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands, and by the consequent progress of luxury. The number of Spartan citizens had been reduced to 700; but even of these there were not above a hundred who possessed a sufficient quantity of land to maintain themselves in independence. The young king, Agis IV., who succeeded to the crown in 244, attempted to revive the ancient Spartan virtue, by restoring the institutions of Lycurgus, by cancelling all debts, and by making a new distribution of lands; and with this view he gave up all his own property, as well as that of his family, for the public good. But he sacrificed his life in this attempt. The richer men combined with his colleague Leonidas against him, and he was put to death. A few years afterwards, however, Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, succeeded in effecting the reforms which had been planned by Agis, and also restored the military discipline. The effect of these new measures soon became visible in the success of the Spartan arms. Cleomenes now wished Sparta to be enrolled in the league with a chief voice in its affairs. This, unfortunately for the liberty of Greece,

Spartan affairs.

Aratus rejected. The league then became involved in war with Sparta, and was so hard pressed that Aratus sought aid from Antigonus Dōson, king of Macedonia. Antigonus granted them help, and finally defeated Cleomenes in the fatal battle of Sellasia in Laconia. The army of Cleomenes was almost totally annihilated; he himself was obliged to fly to Egypt; and Sparta, which for many centuries had remained unconquered, fell into the hands of the victor. It was mistaken policy in Aratus, or, rather, a mistaken ambition which led him to reject the offers of Cleomenes. If he had accepted them, the whole Peloponnese would have been united, and might have maintained itself against the Macedonian power.

Battle of Sellasia, B.C. 221.

Antigonus Dōson was the nephew of Antigonus Gonatas, and strictly was regent for Philip, the son of Demetrius II., but he retained the kingdom for his life by the wish of his people, with an honourable understanding that Philip should be his successor. Philip succeeded him at the age of 17 years, B.C. 220.* His youth encouraged the Aetolians to make predatory excursions into the Peloponnesus. The Aetolians also had a league, but the Aetolian League differed from the Achaean in being a confederation of tribes instead of cities. It was less firmly united, being more likely to split asunder from tribal jealousies, and the Aetolians themselves were rough mountaineers, more disposed to make a plundering expedition, and then retire with their spoil to their hills, than to maintain a war for the common cause. The diet or council of the league, called the Panaetolicum, assembled every autumn, generally at Thermon, to elect the strategus and other officers;

Aetolian League.

* The succession of Macedonian kings from Alexander the Great to the extinction of the monarchy will be seen from the following table:—

	B.C.
Philip III. Arrhidaeus	323–316
Cassander	316–296
Philip IV.	296–295
Demetrius I. Poliorcetes	294–287
Pyrrhus	287–286
Lysimachus	286–280
Ptolemy Ceraunus and others	280–277
Antigonus Gonatas	277–239
Demetrius II.	239–229
Antigonus Doson	229–220
Philip V.	220–178
Perseus	178–167

the details of its affairs were conducted by a committee called *Apocleti*, who seem to have formed a sort of permanent council. The Aetolians had availed themselves of the disorganized state of Greece consequent upon the death of Alexander to extend their power, and had gradually made themselves masters of Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, together with portions of Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epirus. Thus both the Amphictyonic Council and the oracle of Delphi were in their power. They had early wrested Naupactus from the Achaeans, and had subsequently acquired several Peloponnesian cities.

Such was the condition of the Aetolians at the time of Philip's accession. Soon after that event we find them, under the leadership of Dorimachus, engaged in a series of freebooting expeditions in Messenia, and other parts of Peloponnesus. Aratus marched to the assistance of the Messenians at the head of the Achaean forces, but was totally defeated in a battle near Caphyae. The Achaeans now saw no hope of safety except through the assistance of Philip. That young monarch was ambitious and enterprising; he had considerable military ability and much political skill. He readily entered into an alliance with the Achaeans. The war which ensued between the Aetolians on the one side, and the Achaeans, assisted by Philip, on the other, and which lasted about three years, has been called the Social War. Philip gained several victories over the Aetolians, but he concluded a treaty of peace with them in 217, because he was anxious to turn his arms against another and more formidable power.

War between the two leagues.

The great struggle now going on between Rome and Carthage attracted the attention of the whole civilized world. It was evident that Greece, distracted by intestine quarrels, must be soon swallowed up by whichever of those great states might prove successful; and of the two, the ambition of the Romans, who had already gained a footing on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, was by far the more formidable to Greece. After the conclusion of the peace with the Aetolians, Philip prepared a large fleet, which he employed to watch the movements of the Romans, and in the following year (216) he made a treaty with Hannibal, which, among other clauses, provided that the Romans

Hostilities between Philip and the Romans.

should not be allowed to retain their conquests on the eastern side of the Adriatic. He even meditated an invasion of Italy, and with that view endeavoured to make himself master of Apollonia and Orĭcum. But though he succeeded in taking Oricum, the Romans surprised his camp whilst he was besieging Apollonia, and compelled him to burn his ships and retire. Not long after this he quarrelled with Aratus, who would not admit his pretensions to be master of all Greece. Aratus was poisoned by Philip's orders, 213 B.C.

In 209 B.C. the Achaeans, being hard pressed by the Aetolians, again sought the aid of Philip. The spirit of the Achaeans was at this time revived by Philopoemen, one of the few noble characters of the period, who has been styled by Plutarch "the last of the Greeks." He was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia, and in 208 was elected Strategus of the league. He made great alterations and improvements in the arms and discipline of the Achaean forces. These reforms, as well as the public spirit with which he had inspired the Achaeans, were attended with the happiest results. In 207 Philopoemen gained at Mantinēa a signal victory over the Lacedaemonians, who had joined the Roman alliance; 4000 of them were left upon the field, and among them Machanidas, who had made himself tyrant of Sparta. This battle secured for a few years the tranquillity of Greece, and raised the fame of Philopoemen to its highest point. In the next Nemean festival, being a second time general of the league, he was hailed by the assembled Greeks as the liberator of their country. The Romans about the same time (205 B.C.), in order to turn all their strength against Carthage, ceased for a time to meddle with Greece, and made peace with Philip.

Philopoemen.

Upon the conclusion of the second Punic war the Romans renewed their enterprises in Greece, and declared war against Philip (200 B.C.). For some time the war lingered on without any decided success on either side; but in 198 the consul T. Quinctius Flamininus succeeded in gaining over the Achaean League to the Roman alliance; and as the Aetolians had already chosen to ally themselves with the Romans rather than with Philip, both the leagues fought for a short time on the same side. In 197 the struggle was brought to a termination by the battle of

The Romans renew the war against Philip.

Cynoscephalae, near Scotussa, in Thessaly, which decided the fate of the Macedonian monarchy. Philip was obliged to sue for peace, and in the following year (196) a treaty was ratified by which the Macedonians were compelled to renounce their supremacy, to withdraw their garrisons from Greek towns, to surrender their fleet, and to pay 1000 talents for the expenses of the war. At the ensuing Isthmian games Flamininus solemnly proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks, and was received by them with joy and gratitude.

Battle of Cynoscephalae, B.C. 197.

The Aetolians, who had hoped for an increase of territory, were dissatisfied with the terms of peace, and persuaded Antiochus III., king of Syria, to enter into a league against the Romans. He passed over into Greece with a wholly inadequate force, and was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylae (191 B.C.). He returned to Asia, and in the following year (190 B.C.) was totally defeated by the Romans under L. Scipio at Magnesia. The Aetolians were now alone, and quite unable to make head against the power of Rome. After a hopeless struggle they were obliged to sue for peace, renouncing all their conquests, and becoming subject allies of Rome. From this time the Aetolian League had no power or authority, though in name it still existed.

Antiochus defeated at Thermopylae and Magnesia.

The Achaean League before long shared the fate of its rival. At first it enjoyed the protection of the Romans, but this protectorate involved a state of almost absolute dependence. Philopoemen had succeeded, in the year 192, in adding Sparta to the league, which now embraced the whole of Peloponnesus. But Sparta having refused to submit to the orders of the league, Philopoemen, in 188, captured the city, put to death eighty of the leading men, razed the walls and fortifications, abolished the institutions of Lycurgus, and compelled the citizens to adopt the democratic constitution of the Achaeans. In 183 the Messenians, under the leadership of Dinocrates, having revolted from the league, Philopoemen, who had now attained the age of seventy, led an expedition against them; but he was captured and taken to Messēné, where, after a sort of mock trial, he was executed. These unhappy quarrels of the Greek states only

Death of Philopoemen.

served to make the conquest of Greece easier for the Romans. Philopoemen, in making war upon Sparta and Messēné, instead of inducing them to combine against Rome, repeated the mistaken policy of Aratus. But in Philopoemen there was no taint of self-seeking or ambition. The nobility of his character and his patriotism deserve all the praise that has been given by historians.

In B.C. 179 Philip died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, the last king of Macedonia. The latter years of the reign of Philip had been spent in preparations for a renewal of the struggle; but the war did not begin until the eighth year. It was brought to a conclusion in 168 by the consul L. Aemilius Paulus, who defeated Perseus with great loss near Pydna. Perseus was carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of Paulus, and spent the remainder of his life in a sort of honourable captivity at Alba. Such was the end of the Macedonian empire, which was now divided into four districts, each under the jurisdiction of an oligarchical council.

Battle of Pydna, B.C. 168.

The Roman commissioners deputed to arrange the affairs of Macedonia did not confine their attention to that province, but aimed at bringing all Greece under the Roman sway. In this they were assisted by the treachery of various leaders or despots in different Grecian cities, and especially by Callicrates, a man of great influence among the Achaeans, as who for many years made himself the tool of the Romans to enslave his country. After the fall of Macedonia, Callicrates denounced more than a thousand leading Achaeans who had favoured the cause of Perseus. These, among whom was Polybius the historian, were sent to Rome for trial. A still harder fate was experienced by Aetolia, Boeotia, Acarnania, and Epirus. In the last-named country, especially, no fewer than seventy of the principal towns were given up to pillage by Paulus, and 150,000 persons are said to have been sold into slavery.

Polybius at Rome.

A quarrel between the Achaeans and Sparta afforded the Romans a pretence for crushing the small remains of independence in Greece. The Spartans, feeling themselves unable to resist the Achaeans, asked help from Rome; and in 147 two Roman commissioners were sent to Greece to settle

the disputes between the two states. These commissioners decided that not only Sparta, but Corinth, and all the other cities, except those of Achaia, should be restored to their independence. This decision occasioned serious riots at Corinth, the most important city of the league. All the Spartans in the town were seized, and even the Roman commissioners narrowly escaped violence. On their return to Rome a fresh embassy was despatched to demand satisfaction. But Critolaüs, then Strategus of the League, made no attempts to conciliate the Romans, and war was declared. Critolaüs was no better as a general than as a politician. On the approach of the Romans under Metellus from Macedonia, he made no stand at Thermopylae; and being overtaken by the Roman army near Scarphēa in Locris, he was totally defeated, and never again heard of. Diaeus, who succeeded him as Strategus, displayed more energy and courage. But he was defeated near Corinth by a newly arrived force under Mummius. Corinth was evacuated not only by the troops of the league, but also by the greater part of the inhabitants. On entering it Mummius put the few males who remained to the sword; sold the women and children as slaves, and carried away all the treasures of the city. It was filled with masterpieces of ancient art, in which that city was particularly rich. It is said that, in his ignorance of what made them valuable, he stipulated with the shipmasters who conveyed them to Rome that if any statue or painting were lost on the voyage it should be replaced by a new one. The whole of Greece, to the borders of Macedonia and Epirus, was formed into a Roman province, under the name of ACHAIA.

Last war of the Achaean League. Corinth taken and Greece made a Roman province, B.C. 146.

CHAPTER XXI.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE earliest Greek literature was poetry, and the earliest poetry, as far as we know, was epic. It is natural that poetry should come before prose for two reasons: first, because, before writing is known, or is in general use, legends or stories of battles and victories are more welcome, and more easily remembered when they are chanted or recited as ballads; and secondly, because some sort of hymns for religious festivals may belong to a very primitive age. It can hardly be doubted that there were ballads and hymns long before the composition of the Homeric poems. In the Iliad and the Odyssey we find occasional mention of minstrels who recited deeds of war in the halls of kings and nobles in much the same way as Scott's "Last Minstrel" does. This narrative poetry was afterwards called "epic;" that is, spoken or recited verses, as distinguished from "melic" or "lyric" poetry, which was set to music.

Early Greek poetry.

From these narrative ballads were developed the epic poems in hexameter verse, of which the earliest, as well as the greatest, that we have are the Iliad, which (as was mentioned before, in Chapter II.) tells of the siege of Troy as far as the death of Hector, and the Odyssey, which tells of the wanderings and return of Odysseus after the Trojan war. There is good reason to believe that the Iliad was not composed all at once just as we have it, but has been brought to its present form by "episodes" added at different dates (perhaps between 1000 and 800 B.C.) to the original poem about Achilles; and in the same way that parts of the Odyssey (which, as a whole, is a somewhat later poem than the Iliad) belong to a later date than the main portion. But it cannot

Homeric poems.

be said that we really know for certain how the Iliad and Odyssey were composed, or what was the difference in date of their various parts, nor does it greatly matter to those who read them for their own sakes, as the most beautiful and most interesting of all epic poems. These epics were at first preserved by being recited or chanted at great festivals by men who were called "Rhapsodists," that is, persons who joined (literally "stitched") together poems in a continuous narrative, perhaps selecting that part of the Homeric poems which best suited the occasion.

Besides these two poems, generally spoken of as "Homer," there were later poems composed by various writers, between 800 and 550 B.C., to complete the "cycle" of legends about Troy, whence the writers are spoken of as the "Cyclic" poets. Their verses have perished, but the narrative of many of their epic poems have been preserved in later prose abstracts. They supplied subjects for many of the Greek tragedies, and for Greek sculptors and painters. There were also hymns in honour of Greek deities, of which several remain, dating between 700 and 500 B.C. They were composed to be chanted at festivals, possibly as a prelude to the portion of Homer which the rhapsodist meant to recite. They are often spoken of as "The Homeric Hymns."

"Cyclic" poets and "Homeric" hymns.

The poems of Hesiod also are included in the old epic poetry of Greece. His date was probably about 730 B.C. He tells us himself that he was born at Ascra in Boeotia, to which his father had migrated from the Aeolian Cyme. The poems which bear his name are much less stirring than the Homeric poems: they are partly "didactic," that is, they give maxims for the guidance of life, and partly mythological. The didactic poem, which may be regarded as mainly the work of Hesiod himself, is called "Works and Days" (Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι), and describes in rather gloomy colours the hardworking peasant life of Boeotia, supplying rules for husbandry, its times and seasons, for navigation, and for domestic economy. There are three episodes in it; the fable of Prometheus, the ages or generations of the world, and a description of winter. The mythological poems ascribed to Hesiod are the "Theogony," which describes the origin of the world and the genealogies of

Hesiod.

the gods, and the "Shield of Herakles." But it may be regarded as certain that the "Shield of Herakles" belongs to a date later than Hesiod's, with the exception of the lines about the mothers of heroes which are prefixed to it.

After the year 700 B.C. there were poets whose verses had less narrative and more sentiment, or expression of their own thoughts. They wrote in elegiacs and in iambics.

Elegiac and iambic poetry.

The earliest of the elegiac poets were **Callĭnus** of Ephesus, about 690 B.C.; and **Tyrtaeus**, a native of Attica, who, according to the tradition which eventually prevailed, lived in Lacedaemon during the second Messenian war (685–668 B.C.), and encouraged the Spartans by his verse to go bravely to battle.* **Archilŏchus** was a native of the island of Paros, and flourished about the year 680 B.C. His fame rests chiefly on his terrible satires, composed in the iambic metre, in which he gave vent to the bitterness of a disappointed man. He was followed in satirical iambic poetry by **Simŏnĭdes of Amorgos** (to be distinguished from a greater poet of the same name), who lived about 660 B.C.

In the same century the growth of the art of music and the improvements in the lyre caused the development of lyric poetry—poetry, that is, expressive of sentiment and feeling, which was actually set to music and sung with the accompaniment of the lyre.

Lyric poetry.

Terpander (670 B.C.) may be regarded as the founder of Greek lyrical poetry, since he improved the lyre by giving it seven strings instead of four, and established a school of music. A very few fragments of his poems remain.

Alcaeus and **Sappho** were both natives of Mytilēnē, in the island of Lesbos, and flourished about 610–580 B.C. Alcaeus took an active part in the civil dissensions of his native state, and warmly espoused the cause of the aristocratical party, to which he belonged by birth. When the nobles were driven into exile, he wrote odes, some in the metre which has been called after him, "Alcaic," full of invectives against the popular party and its leaders.

Of the events of Sappho's life we have scarcely any information: in force and passion she was the greatest of all the Greek

* There is some reason for doubt whether the poems of Tyrtaeus are as old as they are commonly said to be. It has recently been argued that Tyrtaeus and his poems belonged to the *third* Messenian war (464 B.C.).

lyric poets, and this appears even from the very few fragments of her poems which remain. Among the metres which she used was the "Sapphic," which bears her name.

Towards the end of the seventh century lived also the lyric poets **Stesichŏrus** of Himera, in Sicily, and **Arīon**, a native of Lesbos. Stesichorus, whose real name was Tisias, was so called because he was an organizer of choric song. His odes, chiefly on heroic subjects, and therefore called by Horace "*graves* Camoenae," began a style of poetry which was perfected by Pindar, treating the themes of old epic poetry in a lyric form, *i.e.* dropping the continuous narrative and introducing certain adventures of his heroes by way of example or illustration to his main subject. The main work of Arīon was to develop the dithyramb, or choral hymn to Dionysus.

Anacreon (about 540–478) was a native of the Ionian city of Teos. He spent part of his life at Samos, under the patronage of Polycrates; and after the death of this despot he went to Athens at the invitation of Hipparchus. He wrote love songs and drinking songs, of which very few fragments remain. The collection which bears his name is composed of songs of various authorship and dates.

Simonides, of the island of Ceos, was born 556 B.C., and reached a great age, famous both for his lyrical odes and for his elegies. He lived many years at Athens, both at the court of Hipparchus, together with Anacreon, and subsequently under the democracy during the Persian wars. The struggles of Greece for her independence furnished him with a noble subject for his muse. He carried away the prize from Aeschylus with an elegy upon the warriors who had fallen at the battle of Marathon. He wrote also upon the heroes of Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea. He was upwards of 80 when his long poetical career at Athens was closed with the victory which he gained with the dithyrambic chorus in 477 B.C., making the 56th prize that he had carried off. Shortly after this he repaired to Syracuse at the invitation of Hiero, and spent the remaining ten years of his life there.

Pindar, though he wrote in the same period as Simonides, was considerably his junior. He was born either at, or in the neighbourhood of, Thebes in Boeotia, about the year 522 B.C. Later writers tell us that his future glory as a poet was miraculously

foreshadowed by a swarm of bees which rested upon his lips while he was asleep, and that this miracle first led him to compose poetry. He began his career at an early age, and soon acquired so great a reputation, that he was employed by various states and princes of the Hellenic race to compose choral songs. He was courted especially by Alexander I., king of Macedonia, and by Hiero, despot of Syracuse. The praises which he bestowed upon Alexander are said to have been the chief reason which led his descendant, Alexander the Great, to spare the house of the poet when he destroyed the rest of Thebes. The estimation in which Pindar was held is also shown by the honours conferred upon him by the free states of Greece. Although a Theban, he was always a great favourite with the Athenians, whom he frequently praised in his poems, and who testified their gratitude by making him their public guest, and by giving him 10,000 drachmas. The only poems of Pindar which have come down to us entire are his Epinicia or triumphal odes, composed in commemoration of victories gained in the great public games. But these were only a small portion of his works. He also wrote hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, odes for processions, songs of maidens, mimic dancing songs, drinking songs, dirges, and encomia, or panegyrics on princes.

Historians.

The Greeks had arrived at a high pitch of civilization before they can be said to have possessed a *History*. The first essays in literary prose cannot be placed earlier than the sixth century before the Christian era; but the first writer who deserves the name of an historian is **Hērŏdŏtus**, hence called the Father of History. Herodotus was born in the Dorian colony of Halicarnassus in Caria, in the year 484 B.C., and accordingly about the time of the Persian expeditions into Greece. He resided some years in Samos, and also undertook extensive travels, of which he speaks in his work. There was scarcely a town in Greece or on the coasts of Asia Minor with which he was not acquainted; he had explored Thrace and the coasts of the Black Sea; in Egypt he had penetrated as far south as Elephantĭné; and in Asia he had visited the cities of Babylon, Ecbatana, and Susa. The latter part of his life was spent at Thurii, a colony founded by the Athenians in Italy in 443 B.C. According to a well-known story in Lucian, Herodotus, when he had completed his work, recited it publicly at the great Olympic festival, as the

best means of procuring for it that celebrity to which he felt that it was entitled. The effect is described as immediate and complete. The delighted audience at once assigned the names of the nine Muses to the nine books into which it is divided. A still later author (Sŭĭdas) adds, that Thucydides, then a boy, was present at the festival with his father Olorus, and was so affected by the recital as to shed tears; upon which Herodotus congratulated Olorus on having a son who possessed so early such a zeal for knowledge. But there are many objections to the probability of these tales.

Herodotus interwove into his history all the varied and extensive knowledge acquired in his travels, and by his own personal researches. But the real subject of the work is the conflict between the Greek race, in the widest sense of the term, and including the Greeks of Asia Minor, with the Asiatics. Thus the historian had a vast epic subject presented to him, which was brought to a natural and glorious termination by the defeat of the Persians in their attempts upon Greece. The work concludes with the reduction of Sestos by the Athenians, 478 B.C. Herodotus wrote in the Ionic dialect, and his style (the λέξις εἰρομένη, or continuous narrative without set periods) is marked by an ease and simplicity which lend it an indescribable charm.

Thucydĭdes, the greatest of the Greek historians, was an Athenian, son of Ŏlŏrus, and was born in the year 471 B.C. His family was connected with that of Miltiades and Cimon. He possessed gold-mines in Thrace, and enjoyed great influence in that country. He commanded an Athenian squadron of seven ships at Thasos, in 424 B.C., at the time when Brasidas was besieging Amphipolis; and having failed to relieve that city in time, he avoided the risk of capital punishment by going into a voluntary exile. He appears to have spent 20 years in banishment, principally in the Peloponnesus, or in places under the dominion or influence of Sparta. He perhaps returned to Athens in 403 B.C., the date of its liberation by Thrasybulus. According to the unanimous testimony of antiquity he met with a violent end, but where or how is uncertain. Some say that he was murdered in Thrace, and that his ashes were brought to Athens and buried there; others, that he was assassinated at Athens. From the beginning of the Peloponnesian war he had designed to write its history, and he employed

himself in collecting materials for that purpose during its continuance; but it is most likely that the work was not actually composed till after the conclusion of the war, and that he was engaged upon it at the time of his death. The first book of his History is introductory, and contains a rapid sketch of Grecian history from the remotest times to the breaking out of the war. The remaining seven books are filled with the details of the war, related according to the division into summers and winters, into which all campaigns naturally fall; and the work breaks off abruptly in the middle of the 21st year of the war (411 B.C.). The materials of Thucydides were collected with the most scrupulous care; the events are related with the strictest impartiality; and the work probably offers a more exact account of a long and eventful period than any other contemporary history, whether ancient or modern, of an equally long and important era. The style of Thucydides is brief and sententious, and whether in moral or political reasoning, or in description, gains wonderful force from its condensation. But this characteristic is sometimes carried to a faulty extent, so as to render his style harsh, and his meaning obscure; but yet, though his history seems to be written with cold and stern brevity, it contains passages of as fine and pathetic writing as can be found in prose. Most notable among these passages is his account of the Athenian disasters in Sicily.

Xĕnŏphon, the son of Gryllus, was also an Athenian, and was probably born about 430 B.C. (the accounts of his presence at Delium in 424 are not trustworthy). He was a pupil of Socrates. He accompanied Cyrus the younger in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and has given an account of this most interesting part of his life in his *Anabăsis*. He accompanied Agesilaus, the Spartan king, on his return from Asia to Greece; and he fought along with the Lacedaemonians against his own countrymen at the battle of Coronēa in 394 B.C. After this battle, a decree of banishment having been passed against him at Athens on account of his adherence to the Lacedaemonians, he went with Agesilaus to Sparta, and soon afterwards settled at Scillus in Elis, near Olympia. He was expelled by the Eleans from their home in 471, when the Spartan influence was overthrown by the battle of Leuctra, and probably spent the remainder of his life at Corinth. He died

some time after 357 B.C., for he speaks of the assassination of Alexander of Pherae which happened in that year.

The *Anabăsis* is the work on which his fame as a writer chiefly rests. It is a book most agreeable to read, of great interest, full of adventure, giving curious details of the countries through which he passed, and written in a clear and simple style. The *Hellenĭca* is a continuation of the history of Thucydides, and comprehends in seven books a space of about 48 years; namely, from the time when Thucydides breaks off, 411 B.C., to the battle of Mantinea in 362. The subject is treated in a very dry and uninteresting style; and his evident partiality to Sparta, and dislike of Athens, have frequently warped his judgment: but it is a valuable authority for the period. The *Cyropaedeia*, one of the most popular of his works, professes to be a history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, but is in reality a kind of political romance, and possesses no authority whatever as a historical work. The design of the author seems to have been to draw a picture of a perfect state; and though the scene is laid in Persia, the materials of the work are derived from his own philosophical notions and the usages of Sparta, engrafted on the popularly current stories respecting Cyrus. Xenophon displays in this work his dislike of democratic institutions like those of Athens, and his preference for an aristocracy, or even a monarchy. Xenophon was also the author of several minor works; but the only other treatise which we need mention is the *Memorabilia* of Socrates, in four books, intended as a defence of his master against the charges which occasioned his death. It undoubtedly contains a genuine picture of Socrates.

Attic Drama.

The Drama pre-eminently distinguished Athenian literature. But the Greek drama, though it was perfected, and indeed first assumed a truly dramatic form, at Athens, was not strictly an Attic invention. The Greek plays, it must always be recollected, formed part of the religious worship of Greece. Both tragedy and comedy arose out of the worship of Dionysus, as a benefactor of mankind, the giver not merely of wine, but of the fruitfulness of trees of all kinds, and of the joyousness of spring growth and autumn vintages. The dithyrambic odes of the Dorian poet Arion (see p. 229) were choice songs in honour of Dionysus, sung by a chorus which

danced round the altar, narrating the story of the god: this had a dramatic character, because the leader of the chorus represented Dionysus himself. Hence arose **Tragedy** ("the goat song"), so called because the sacrifice of a goat was part of the ceremony. As a further development the chorus might sing of, and its leader represent, the story of other gods or of heroes. But the tragedy always retained the seriousness and the pathos of its religious connexion with a god who had suffered many things. **Comedy** ("the village song"), though also of religious origin, preserved the merriment and licence of a rustic festival, rightly compared in some aspects to a carnival.

In Attica an important alteration was made in the old tragedy in the time of Peisistratus, in consequence of which it obtained a new and more purely dramatic character. This innovation is ascribed to Thespis, a native of the Attic village of Icaria, 535 B.C. It consisted in appointing one of the chorus to carry on a dialogue with the leader of the chorus. This member of the chorus was called *ὑποκριτής*, which literally means "answerer," and afterwards came to mean *actor*. Whether his part was important or not in proportion to the lyrical part of the chorus, is not known; but, at any rate, it was a step towards the regular drama. Thespis was succeeded by Choerĭlus and Phrynĭchus, the latter of whom gained his first prize in the dramatic contests in 511 B.C. The Dorian Pratĭnas, a native of Phlius, who exhibited his tragedies at Athens, introduced an improvement in tragedy by separating the satyric from the tragic drama. As neither the popular taste nor the ancient religious associations connected with the festivals of Dionysus would have permitted the chorus of satyrs to be entirely banished from the tragic representations, Pratinas avoided this by the invention of what is called the satyric drama; that is, a species of play in which the ordinary subjects of tragedy were treated in a lively and farcical manner, and in which the chorus consisted of a band of satyrs in appropriate dresses and masks. In the succeeding period it became customary to exhibit dramas in *tetralogies*, or sets of four; namely, a tragic *trilogy*, or series of three tragedies, followed by a satyric play. These were often on connected subjects; and the satyric drama at the end served like a merry after-piece to relieve the minds of the spectators.

The subjects of Greek tragedy were taken, with few

exceptions, from the national mythology. Hence the story was of necessity known to the spectators, and it was a sacred story, so that in this respect it was akin rather to the religious plays of Ober-Ammergau than to other modern dramas. But the audience as a whole were probably keener critics than any modern audience of the literary merits of the play, of the management of the plot, and of the beauty of the poetry in the dialogue and in the lyrical odes. Upon these merits mainly, though also upon the ability of the actors to deliver their speeches with appropriate tone and gesture, and, in the case of the chorus, with appropriate movements and music, depended the success of the play. The elaborate scenic effects to which modern audiences are accustomed had no place at all. The representation of tragedies took place at three festivals of Dionysus. During the whole day the Athenian public sat in the theatre witnessing tragedy after tragedy; and a prize was awarded by judges appointed for the purpose to the poet who produced the best set of dramas.

The outburst of poetry which produced the great Athenian dramas belonged, as has so often been the case, to a period of comparative security immediately following a great national war. The life-and-death struggle in this case which preceded, and may probably be said in part to have inspired this poetry, was the contest against Persia. **Aeschylus**, from the great improvements which he introduced, was regarded by the Athenians as the father or founder of Attic tragedy, just as Homer was of epic poetry, and Herodotus of history. He was born at Eleusis, in Attica, in 525 B.C., and was thus contemporary with Simonides and Pindar. He fought with his brother Cynaegeirus at the battle of Marathon, and also at those of Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea. In 484 B.C. he gained his first tragic prize. In 468 he was defeated in a tragic contest by his younger rival Sophocles. It is said that he was greatly mortified by this defeat, and also by a former failure, when he was defeated by Simonides in the elegy written on those who died at Marathon. There is no proof, however, that either of these defeats caused his retirement to Sicily, to the court of Hiero, which he seems to have visited twice—once between 479 and 472, and again after 458 (the year when he produced the "Oresteia"). He died at Gela, in Sicily, in 456,

in the 69th year of his age. The improvements introduced into tragedy by Aeschylus concerned both its form and composition, and its manner of representation. In the former his principal innovation was the introduction of a second actor; whence the dialogue became the most important part of the play, and the limitation of the choral parts which now became subsidiary. His improvements in the manner of representing tragedy consisted in furnishing the actors with more appropriate and more magnificent dresses, invented for them more various and expressive masks, and raised their stature to the heroic size by providing them with thick-soled cothurni or buskins. Aeschylus excels in representing the superhuman, in depicting demigods and heroes, and in tracing the irresistible march of destiny and the exaction of retributive justice by the unseen powers. His poetry has a sublimity and grandeur of feeling and expression, sometimes to a degree which in a lesser man would be called turgid, with less of pathos than belongs to the plays of Sophocles and Euripides.

Sophocles, the younger rival and immediate successor of Aeschylus, was born at Colonus, a village about a mile from Athens, in 495 B.C. We have already adverted to his wresting the tragic prize from Aeschylus in 468, and after the final retirement of Aeschylus to Sicily he retained the almost undisputed possession of the Athenian stage, until a new rival arose in the person of Euripides. The close of his life was troubled with family dissensions. There is a well-known story that Iŏphon, his son by an Athenian wife, and therefore his legitimate heir, was jealous of the affection manifested by his father for his grandson Sophocles, the offspring of another son, Ariston, whom he had had by a Sicyonian woman. Fearing lest his father should bestow a great part of his property upon his favourite, Iophon summoned him before the Phratores, or tribesmen, on the ground that his mind was affected. The old man's only reply was—"If I am Sophocles I am not beside myself; and if I am beside myself I am not Sophocles." Then taking up his *Oedipus at Colonus*, which he had lately written, but had not yet brought out, he read from it a beautiful passage, with which the judges were so struck that they at once dismissed the case. He died shortly afterwards, in 406 B.C., in his 90th year. Sophocles added the last improvement to the form of the drama

by the introduction of a third actor; a change which greatly enlarged the scope of the action. He also introduced painted scenery, or if, as an account says, it had been in a ruder form used by Aeschylus, he at any rate greatly improved it. As a poet he perfected Greek tragedy. If he had less of rugged grandeur than Aeschylus, he had more pathos and more grace. The characters of Aeschylus were heroic and superhuman; those of Sophocles were idealized, but they were living men, and the plot was skilfully worked out, so that it should be seen to proceed from the characters of the chief persons.

Euripides was born in the island of Salamis, in 480 B.C., his parents having been among those who fled thither at the time of the invasion of Attica by Xerxes. He studied rhetoric under Prodicus, and physics under Anaxagoras, and he also lived on intimate terms with Socrates. In 441 he gained his first prize, and he continued to exhibit plays until 408, the date of his Orestes. Soon after this he repaired to the court of Macedonia, at the invitation of king Archelaüs, where he died two years afterwards at the age of 74 (406 B.C.). In treating his characters and subjects Euripides sometimes diminished the dignity of tragedy by depriving it of its ideal character, and by bringing it down to the level of everyday life: his dialogue was sometimes encumbered by philosophical disquisitions. But Euripides is remarkable for pathos, and for scenes of tender affection. Aristotle calls him "the most tragic of poets," because he neglected no means of working upon the feelings of the audience —not even the misery of appearance, as in the case of Telephus —and therefore worked upon pity, which is the office of tragedy. His characters were not the idealized persons of the old heroic age, but rather the men and women of his own day, for which reason it was said that Euripides represents people as they are, Sophocles as they ought to be.

Comedy received its full development at Athens from Cratīnus, who lived in the age of Pericles. Cratīnus, and his younger contemporaries, Eupŏlis and Aristophanes, were the three great poets of what is called the Old Attic Comedy. The comedies of Cratinus and Eupolis are lost: but of Aristophanes, who was the greatest of the three, we have eleven dramas extant. **Aristophanes** was born about 444 B.C. Of his private life we know positively nothing. He exhibited his first

Attic Comedy.

comedy in 427, and from that time till near his death, which probably happened about 380, he was a frequent contributor to the Attic stage. The *Old Attic Comedy* was a powerful vehicle for the expression of opinion; and most of the comedies of Aristophanes turned either upon political occurrences, or upon some subject which excited the interest of the Athenian public. They are of great historical interest, containing as they do an admirable series of caricatures of the leading men of the day, and a contemporary account of the errors or abuses at Athens. Aristophanes did not write primarily with a political purpose, but because he was a genius and a poet. At the same time he wrote with a patriotic aim, and often with political wisdom, though sometimes he was led into extravagance and violence by ultra-conservatism. Towards the end of the career of Aristophanes the unrestricted licence and libellous personality of comedy began gradually to disappear. The chorus was first curtailed and then entirely suppressed, and thus made way for what is called the *Middle Comedy*, which had no chorus at all. These dramas still continued to be in some degree political; but persons were no longer introduced upon the stage under their real names. It was, in fact, the connecting link between the Old Comedy and the New, or the Comedy of Manners. The *New Comedy* arose after Athens had become subject to the Macedonians. Politics were now excluded from the stage, and the materials of the dramatic poet were derived entirely from the fictitious adventures of persons in private life. The two most distinguished writers of this school were **Philemon** and **Menander**. Philēmon was probably born about the year 360 B.C., and was either a Cilician or Syracusan, but came at an early age to Athens. He is considered as the founder of the New Comedy, which was soon afterwards brought to perfection by his younger contemporary Menander, who was an Athenian, born in 342 B.C. Menander was drowned at the age of 52, whilst swimming in the harbour of Peiraeus. He wrote upwards of 100 comedies, of which only fragments remain. The comedies, indeed, of Plautus and Terence may give us a general notion of the New Comedy of the Greeks, from which they were confessedly drawn; but the loss of the masterpieces from which they were adapted can hardly be over-estimated.

The latter days of literary Athens were chiefly distinguished

by the genius of her *Orators* and *Philosophers*. There were ten chief Attic orators, whose works were collected by the Greek grammarians, and many of whose orations have come down to us. Their names are Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hypereides, and Deinarchus. **Antĭphon**, the earliest of the ten, was born 480 B.C. He opened a school of rhetoric, and numbered among his pupils the historian Thucydides. Antiphon was put to death in 411 B.C. for the part which he took in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred.

Attic orators.

Andŏcĭdes, who was concerned with Alcibiades in the affair of the Hermae, was born at Athens about 440 B.C., and died probably about 390.

Lysias, also born at Athens in 458, was much superior to Andocides as an orator, but being a *metic*, or resident alien, he did not speak in the assemblies or courts of justice, but wrote orations for others to deliver. He was a master of pure Greek, and celebrated as the introducer of the "plain" style of oratory, that is, a style which uses the language of ordinary life, and avoids grandiloquence.

Isocrătes was born in 436. After receiving the instructions of some of the most celebrated sophists of the day, he became himself a speech-writer and professor of rhetoric; his weakly constitution preventing him from taking a part in public life. He killed himself in 338, after the fatal battle of Chaeroneia, despairing of his country's fate. In his style of oratory he studied rhythm and smoothness of diction in long and finished periods. The style of Cicero was in great measure modelled upon that of Isocrates, and, through Cicero, Isocrates had much to do with the training of great masters of English prose; notably with that of Milton.

Isaeus lived between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the accession of Philip of Macedon. He opened a school of rhetoric at Athens, and is said to have numbered Demosthenes among his pupils. His orations were exclusively judicial.

Aeschĭnes was born in the year 389, and he was at first a violent anti-Macedonian; but after his embassy along with Demosthenes and others to Philip's court, he was the constant advocate of peace. Demosthenes and Aeschines now became

the leading speakers on their respective sides, and the heat of political animosity soon degenerated into personal hatred. In 343 Demosthenes charged Aeschines with having received bribes from Philip during a second embassy; and the speech in which he brought forward this accusation was answered in another by Aeschines. His impeachment of Ctesiphon, and the celebrated reply of Demosthenes in his speech *de Corona*, have already been noticed (p. 207). After the banishment of Aeschines on this occasion (330 B.C.), he employed himself in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes. He died in Samos, in 314. As an orator he was second only to Demosthenes.

Of the life of his great rival, **Demosthenes**, some account has already been given. The verdict of his contemporaries, ratified by posterity, has pronounced Demosthenes the greatest orator that ever lived. One element of his success must be traced to his purity of purpose, which gave to his arguments all the power of conscientious conviction. The effect of his speeches was still further heightened by a wonderful force of diction. The grace and vivacity of his delivery are attested by the well-known anecdote of Aeschines, when he read at Rhodes his speech against Ctesiphon. His audience having expressed their surprise that he should have been defeated after such an oration: "You would cease to wonder," he remarked, "if you had heard Demosthenes."

The remaining three Attic orators, viz. **Lycurgus, Hypereides,** and **Deinarchus,** were contemporaries of Demosthenes. Lycurgus and Hypereides both belonged to the anti-Macedonian party, and were warm supporters of the policy of Demosthenes. Deinarchus, who is the least important of the Attic orators, survived Demosthenes, and was a friend of Demetrius Phalereus.

Into the history of Greek philosophy it is impossible to enter with any profit in a short sketch of Greek literature. It will be sufficient to mention the two great philosophers within our period whose writings have been preserved, Plato and Aristotle.

Plato was born at Athens in 429 B.C., the year in which Pericles died. His first literary attempts were in poetry; but his attention was soon turned to philosophy by the teaching of Socrates, whose lectures he began to frequent at about the age of twenty. From that time till the death of Socrates he appears to have lived in the closest intimacy with that philosopher.

After that event Plato withdrew to Megara, and subsequently undertook some extensive travels, in the course of which he visited Cyrēné, Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. His intercourse with the elder and the younger Dionysius at Syracuse has been already related (p. 174). His absence from Athens lasted about twelve years; on his return, being then upwards of 40, he began to teach in the gymnasium of the Academy. He had an inner circle of devoted admirers and disciples, consisting of about twenty-eight persons, who met in his private house; over the vestibule of which was inscribed—"Let no one enter who is ignorant of geometry." The most distinguished of this little band of auditors were Speusippus, his nephew and successor, and Aristotle. He died in 347, at the age of 81 or 82, and bequeathed his garden to his school.

Aristotle was born in 384 B.C., at Stageira, a seaport town of Chalcidicé, whence he is frequently called *the Stagirite*. At the age of 17, Aristotle, who had then lost both father and mother, repaired to Athens. Plato considered him his best scholar, and called him "the intellect of his school." Aristotle spent twenty years at Athens, during the last ten of which he established a school of his own. In 342 he accepted the invitation of Philip of Macedon to undertake the instruction of his son Alexander. In 335, after Alexander had ascended the throne, Aristotle quitted Macedonia, to which he never returned. He again took up his abode at Athens, where the Athenians assigned him the gymnasium called the Lycēum; and from his habit of delivering his lectures whilst walking up and down in the shady walks of this place, his school was called the *peripatetic*. In the morning he lectured only to a select "inner" class of pupils, called *esoteric*. His afternoon lectures were delivered to a wider "outside" circle, and were therefore called *exoteric*. It was during the thirteen years in which he presided over the Lycēum that he composed the greater part of his works, and prosecuted his researches in natural history, in which he was most liberally assisted by the munificence of Alexander. The latter portion of Aristotle's life was unfortunate. He appears to have lost the friendship of Alexander owing to his connection with Callisthenes (see p. 201); and after Alexander's death he was regarded with suspicion at Athens as a friend of Macedonia. Being threatened with a prosecution for impiety, he escaped from Athens and

retired to Chalcis; but he was condemned to death in his absence, and deprived of all the rights and honours which he had previously enjoyed. He died at Chalcis in 322, in the 63rd year of his age.

Of all the philosophical systems of antiquity, that of Aristotle was best adapted to the practical wants of mankind. It was founded on a close and accurate observation of human nature and of the external world; but whilst it sought the practical and useful, it did not neglect the beautiful and noble. His works consisted of treatises on natural, moral, and political philosophy, history, rhetoric, criticism—indeed there is scarcely a branch of knowledge which his vast and comprehensive genius did not embrace.

CHAPTER XXII.

TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS.

ATHENS is situated about three miles from the sea-coast, in the central plain of Attica. In this plain rise several eminences. Of these, the most prominent is a finely shaped hill with a conical summit, called Lycabettus. This hill, which was not included within the ancient walls, lies to the north-east of Athens, and forms the most striking feature in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. It is to Athens what Arthur's Seat is to Edinburgh. South-west of Lycabettus are four hills of moderate height, which all formed part of the city. The nearest to Lycabettus, about a mile from it, was the Acropolis or citadel of Athens, an oblong craggy rock rising abruptly about 150 feet, with a summit, originally uneven but artificially levelled, 1150 feet long from east to west, by 500 feet broad from north to south. Immediately west of the Acropolis is a second hill of irregular form, the Areopagus. To the south-west rises a third hill, the Pnyx, on which the assemblies of the citizens were held; and to the south of the Pnyx is a tract of hilly ground, part of which was called the Museum Hill.

The river Cephissus, the largest stream in the district, which retains a little water even in summer, flows through the plain from north to south, about a mile and a half to the west of the city: on the south-east and south is the rocky channel of the Ilissus, dry in summer. The stream, also dry in summer, which flows down from Hymettus and joins the Ilissus a little above the town, is probably the Eridănus. South of the city lay the Saronic gulf and the harbours.

As was the case of most early towns in Greece, the first settlement was made on the most defensible eminence of the

plain, near to the sea, yet safe from a sudden attack of sea-rovers. This was the Acropolis, which was at once a more convenient height and a more convenient shape than the peaked Lycabettus. Here was the nucleus round which later Athens grouped itself, when it had grown to be the head of a united Attica (see p. 29).

Traces of early settlements.

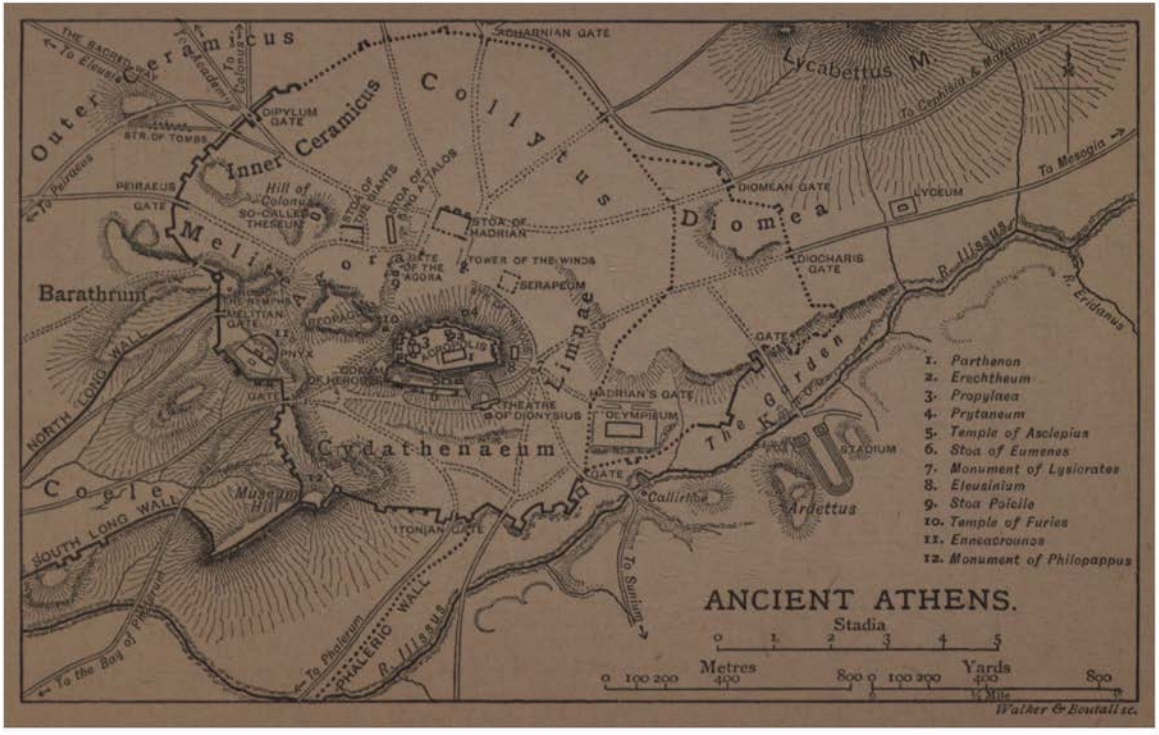
Certain quarters of the city, such as Collytus, Melitē, and Diomēa, probably preserved in historical times the names of old "demes," or rural settlements, near the Acropolis. The more distant settlements, such as Colōnus, were not included within the walls, and were the "demes" of Attica history. Foundations of some buildings belonging to prehistoric settlements have been laid bare by excavations. Traces have been found of old rock dwellings about the Acropolis, the Museum Hill, and the Pnyx; the foundations (probably) of the king's palace and of ancient temples have been discovered on the Acropolis, and a fortified stairway to the spring on the north side of the rock.

It was probably not till the time of Peisistratus and his sons (560-514 B.C.) that the city began to assume any degree of splendour. In this period the great temple of the Olympian Zeus, the Olympiēum, was begun by Peisistratus and continued, but left still unfinished, by his sons. The building was carried further by Antiochus Epiphanes, but even then remained incomplete. The magnificent Corinthian columns, which may still be seen on the level ground below the south-eastern side of the Acropolis, belong to the completed temple, the work of Hadrian (130 A.D.). To the period of Peisistratus belong also the temple of Athena on the Acropolis, called the Hecatompedon, of which the foundations have been traced, and a temple of Apollo near that of Zeus. At this time the town increased at the foot of the Acropolis towards the south-east, and traces of buildings at the spring of Enneacrounos, probably dating from the reigns of Peisistratus and his sons, give further evidence of great activity and enterprise in what was a very brief period.

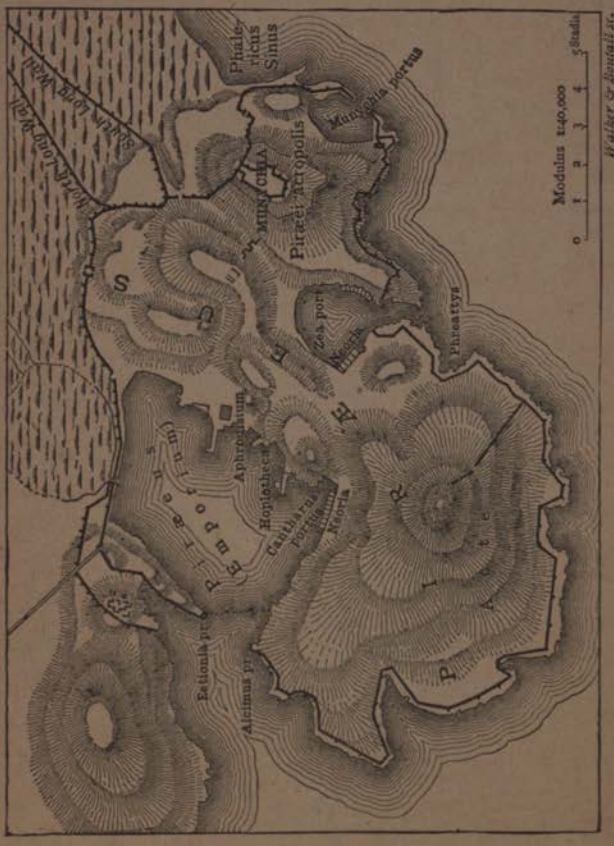
Athens under Peisistratus.

The city was burnt by Xerxes (480 B.C.), but was soon rebuilt under the administration of Themistocles, and was adorned with public buildings by Cimon, and, still more, by Pericles, to whose time (460–429) its greatest glories of architecture belong.

Athens after the Persian wars.


ANCIENT ATHENS.
Stadia
0 1 2 3 4 5
Metres 0 100 200 400 800
Yards 0 100 200 400 800
¼ Mile
Walker & Boutall sc.
1. Parthenon
2. Erechtheum
3. Propylaea
4. Prytaneum
5. Temple of Asclepius
6. Stoa of Eumenes
7. Monument of Lysicrates
8. Eleusinium
9. Stoa Poicile
10. Temple of Furies
11. Enneacrounos
12. Monument of Philopappus
Outer Ceramicus
Inner Ceramicus
Colias
Lycabettus M.
Melite
Barathrum
Cydathenaeum
Museum Hill
Pnyx
Areopagus
Hill of Colonus
Limnae
The Garden
Ardettus
Callirhoe
Diomea
Cholargus
Peiraeus
Phalerum
R. Ilissus
R. Eridanus
To Eleusis
To Peiraeus
To Phalerum
To the Bay of Phalerum
To Cephisia & Marathon
To Mesogia
To Sunium
Dipylum Gate
Str. of Tombs
Peiraeus Gate
Melitian Gate
Acharnian Gate
Diomean Gate
Diocharis Gate
Lyceum
Stoa of Hadrian
Tower of the Winds
Serapeum
Gate of the Agora
Stoa of the Giants
Stoa of King Attalos
Temple of Hephaestus
Gate of Heroum
Theatre of Dionysius
Hadrian's Gate
Olympium
Stadium
Itonian Gate
North Long Wall
South Long Wall
Phalerio Wall

The walls which Themistocles built to defend the city (as was related on p. 78) enclosed an irregular circle of about 5½ miles in circumference. These walls, and the position of some of the gates, can still be traced. The most noticeable remains are those at the Dipylon gate, from **The walls.**



which the roads to Eleusis and Acadēmus issued. At this point there were an outer and inner gate, which, with the walls

joining them, enclosed a rectangular space: hence the name "double-gate." Some parts of the foundations and of the southern tower which defended the gate still remain; and this spot is remarkable for the number of vases of the type called "Dipylon" which were found there.

The three harbour towns, Peiraeus, Munychia, and Phalērum, were also surrounded with walls by Themistocles, and were connected with the city by means of the "Long Walls," built in the administration of Pericles, destroyed by the Spartans in 404 B.C. and rebuilt by Conon in 393. These "Long Walls" consisted of the wall to Phalerum on the east, about 4 miles long, and of the wall to Peiraeus on the west, about 4½ miles long: between these two, at a short distance from the wall to Peiraeus, and parallel to it, another was built; so that the road to Peiraeus ran in a narrow space between these two walls, which were generally known as the "Long Walls," the third wall being specially called "The Phaleric Wall." It is easy to see how much these walls added to the security of Athens. The city could no longer be cut off from her seaport. The triangle between the Phaleric Wall and the Long Walls formed a large fortified place of refuge for the country people, and for their flocks and herds, in time of invasion. If an enemy carried the Phaleric Wall this space would be in their hands, but the Long Walls would still give the Athenians a safe communication with their ships at Peiraeus. The entire circuit of the walls was about 22 miles, of which at first about 5½ belonged to the city. In later times the walls were extended further in the direction of the Lycēum, and moreover the district of Coele and the Museum Hill were included within the city after the Long Walls were built.

The Acropolis after the Persian wars.

The present form of the surface of the Acropolis is due to Cimon, who levelled it by building solid walls round the edge of the platform, and filling up the space between the walls and the centre ridge with earth and rubble, composed in part of the *débris* left after the Persians burnt the earlier buildings. In this substratum many pieces of archaic sculpture have been found. To the period of Cimon belonged also the great bronze statue of Athena Promachos, armed with spear and helmet, which dominated the city and was seen far out at sea. It is possible that the remains

View of the Acropolis of Athens.

View of the Parthenon.

of a pedestal between the Propylaea and the Erechtheum may mark the actual spot where this statue of Athena stood. The greatest works were carried on under Pericles. For the approach to the Acropolis the plan of Cimon, which gave only a narrow and defensible gateway, was set aside (defence being less necessary, since the fortification of the whole city was completed), and the magnificent Propylaea were designed by Mnesicles in 437 B.C. In the marble wall there were five gateways, the central being the largest, and admitting a sloping carriage-way: the two gates on each side were reached by five steps; beyond was a portico, and rising above this another portico. On each side of the entrance were wings, each intended to have a small outer and a large inner hall;* but the plan of making the wing on the right, or south, side symmetrical with the left wing was not carried out, probably because it would have encroached upon sacred ground: for immediately to the right were the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, and the temple of Niké Aptĕros. This latter temple of "Wingless Victory," small, but of great beauty, was built in the time either of Cimon or of Pericles, in honour of Athena Nike, who was called "Wingless" in distinction to the scarcely personified goddess Nike, who was represented with wings. It was pulled down by the Turks in making a bastion, 1687 A.D., and was replaced on its old site about 150 years afterwards. As each one passed through the Propylaea, leaving this temple on his right, he saw the colossal statue of Athena Promachos towering above him; to the right front of this the Parthĕnon; to the left or north of the Parthenon, the Erechthĕum. Further to the left, before reaching the Erechtheum were the steps leading down the north face of the rock (called "Macra") to the cave of Aglauros. It was by these steps that the Persians from the army of Xerxes mounted to the Acropolis, having first scrambled up to the cave. The Parthenon, the chief glory of the Acropolis and one of the most perfect examples of Greek architecture, was the great temple of Athena Parthenos, or Athena the maiden goddess. It was built on the site of the older temple of Athena, which had been burnt during the Persian

Acropolis in the time of Pericles.

The Parthenon.

* In the smaller northern hall were paintings by Polygnotos, whence it was sometimes called the Pinacothekĕ.

invasion, and was completed by the dedication of the statue of the goddess, 438 B.C. The architects were Ictīnus and Callicrates, but all the works were under the superintendence of Pheidias. It was of the purest Doric order, built entirely of Pentelic marble, 228 feet long, 101 feet broad, and 65 feet high, consisting of an oblong central building (the *νεώς*, or *cella*), surrounded by a peristyle of 46 pillars, 8 at each end and 17 at each side (reckoning the corner pillars twice). Within the porticoes at each end was another row of 6 pillars, standing on a level with the floor of the *cella*, and two steps higher than the floor of the peristyle. The cella was divided into two chambers of unequal size. The eastern and larger chamber, approached from the east by a *pronaos*, or portico, was 100 Greek feet in length. It was further divided off by two parallel rows of nine pillars, and towards its western end was the statue of Athena by Pheidias, in ivory and gold (chryselephantine). The other chamber, lying to the west, was the Parthenon proper, in which were kept the vessels used in processions, and the clothes, jewels, and furniture for sacred purposes. Both these chambers had inner rows of columns in two stories, one over the other, supporting the partial roof; for the cella of a temple had an opening to the sky in the centre. It was adorned within and without with colours and gilding and with sculptures, the masterpieces of Greek art, executed in part (like the great statue of Athena Parthenos) by Pheidias himself, and in part by artists working under his direction. Several of the sculptured slabs of the frieze and of the metopes were brought to England early in this century by Lord Elgin, and are now in the British Museum.

North of the Parthenon have been discovered the foundations of an older temple of Athena, and immediately to the north of that is the Erechthēum, built on the site of an older temple, traditionally ascribed to Erechtheus, which had been burnt by the Persians. The Erechtheum, an Ionic temple 70 feet long, had three divisions: the eastern division contained the oldest image (*ξόανον*) of Athena; the central and western parts were sacred to Poseidon and Erechtheus. The southern porch is particularly beautiful, supported by six statues of maidens, serving as columns, and called Caryatides. One of these is now in the British Museum, its place in the temple being supplied by a copy.

Erechtheum.

At the base of the Acropolis, on the western and part of the southern sides, was a strip of ground called τὸ Πελασγικόν, or Πελαργικόν. This was always left in ancient times clear from buildings, though Thucydides mentions that in the press of population, when the country people came in for shelter during the Peloponnesian war, it was occupied by temporary huts. Tradition said that a curse had been laid upon it. The original reason for its being left vacant may have been, as in the case of the pomerium at Rome, a desire to have no buildings there which might cover the approach of an enemy.

The chief buildings on the southern slopes, reckoning from the east, were the great theatre of Dionysus, the remains of which in part date from the time of Lycurgus, 330 B.C. (occupying probably the site of an earlier theatre of a less permanent construction); the temple and sanctuary of Asclepius; the long colonnade (stoa) of Eumenes, and next to this the Odēum, or theatre for musical performances built by Herodes Atticus about 150 A.D. The hill of the Areopagus, traditionally the hill from which the Amazons attacked the Acropolis, lay to the west, and gave its name to the council which held its meetings there. It was approached on the south side by a flight of steps cut in the rock. On its north side was a temple of Ares, and on the north-east slope was the sanctuary of the Eumenides. South-west of the Areopagus was the hill of the Pnyx, where, until the later periods of Attic history, the Assemblies of the people were held. The platform, or *bema*, for speakers, formed by the steps of an altar to Zeus, and the three rows of seats for the Prytanes, cut in the rock behind, may still be seen. The people stood in a semicircular space between the bema and the Agora. North of the Pnyx was the hill of Colōnus Agoraeus, and under it still stands the so-called "Thesēum," a well-preserved Doric temple, not really the temple of Theseus, but probably that of Hephaestus.

Areopagus.

Pnyx.

Between the hill of Colonus and the Areopagus was the Agŏra (Forum or market-place), stretching north-west and west from the foot of the Pnyx, and including part of the inner Ceramīcus. It would seem that the commercial market was at the Ceramīcus end, and that the political Agora was at the end nearer the Pnyx. In this latter

Agora.

portion the most notable buildings were the Thŏlos, a round building with an umbrella-shaped roof, where the Prytanes and other officials dined; the Bouleuterion, or assembly-house of the senate; and the Metrōon, or sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, in which state archives were preserved. No remains have been found of any of these buildings. Beyond these were other buildings abutting on the Agora—the Colonnade (stoa) of the Giants, of which some remains have been found; the Stoa Poecīlé, a colonnade painted in fresco with scenes from the Persian wars; the Colonnade of Attălus; and west of these was the Colonnade (or possibly the gymnasium) of Hadrian. Of both these there are considerable remains. A little to the south still stands the market gate, called the gate of Athena Archēgĕtis. This market gate was built in the Roman period, and was probably the entrance to a market enclosure lying further to the west, and used after the Roman conquest either as a general market or specially as an oil-market.

The Prytanēum was formerly to the south-west of the Acropolis, but in later times, probably after the Roman conquest, a new Prytaneum was built on the north-east side of the Acropolis. A little to the north of the new Prytaneum was the monument of Andronīcus Cyrrhestes, still extant, and called "The Tower of the Winds." It contained a water-clock. Another extant monument is that of Lysicrates, which stands further south, under the western side of the Acropolis. This was a choragic monument, set up by Lysicrates in the street of the Tripods in 335 B.C., in memory of a choric victory of his tribe. A gate due east of this point led to the Lycēum, a gymnasium outside the city, sacred to Apollo Lycēus, in which Aristotle and the Peripatetics taught. The Cynosarges, a gymnasium sacred to Heracles, where Antisthenes the Cynic philosopher taught, was a little to the north of the Lyceum. On the other side of the city, in the north-western district, was the Ceramīcus, originally the "Potters' Quarter," stretched from the Agora, part of which was included in it, to the Dipylon gate mentioned above and beyond it. The portion beyond the walls was called the Outer Ceramīcus, and was used as a burial-place. The road passed through it, bordered by monuments, and went on to Acadēmus, the house of the Platonic school.

Theatre of Dionysus.

Note on Pylos and Sphacteria (pp. 103, 104).

There seems no doubt that Thucydides underestimated the width of the southern entrance to the Bay of Pylos, when he speaks of its admitting "eight or nine vessels abreast," and being possibly blocked by ships placed side by side. (He nowhere implies that it *was* blocked.) Partly for this reason, and partly because the bay is said to be exposed to storms, (i.) it has been suggested that in the time of the Peloponnesian War there was a passage into the lagoon on both sides of Coryphasium, and that Coryphasium was Sphacteria, while Pylos was further to the north. This is certainly wrong: not only does the name of *Sphagia* point to Sphacteria as the island, but the narrative implies that there were only two islands, including Prote, and this would give three. (ii.) Quite recently Mr. Grundy, whose survey has cleared up many points, suggested that the lagoon was the old harbour of Pylos, and that the northern entrance, of which Thucydides speaks, was not an entrance to the harbour of Pylos, but only into the little inlet just north of Pylos. This, however, departs altogether from Thucydides, and it is preferable, unless further evidence is forthcoming, to conclude merely that he was misinformed as to the exact width of the southern entrance.

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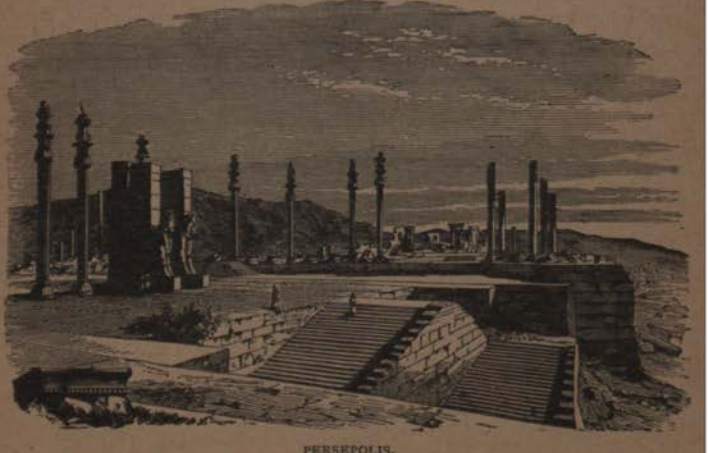

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